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TO HONOR IVAN DUJČEV

ESSAYS ON THE OCCASION OF HIS SEVENTIETH BIRTHDAY

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FROM THE EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

In the Fall of 1975 I planned this Festschrift *while visiting Professor Dujcev at his home in Sofia. I want to thank Walter K. Hanak for soliciting the contributions and preparing them for publication, and for compiling the bibliography. I also wish to thank Philip Shashko for his assistance in this project, particularly in furnishing additional bibliographical material and the photograph of Professor Dujcev. Finally, I must express my gratitude to Professor Dujcev for checking the proofs to the bibliography.*

The International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX) provided travel funds to and from Bulgaria, for which I am most grateful.

Charles Schlacks, Jr.

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INTRODUCTION

WALTER K. HANAK (Shepherdstown, W.V., U.S.A.)

Professor Ivan Dujčev: Portrait of a Distinguished Scholar

Born in his native Sofia, Bulgaria, on the 18th of April (or 1 May if one prefers to transpose the Julian calendar date to the Gregorian), Professor Ivan Dujčev on the occasion of his seventieth birthday has reached but another step in what has proved to be a most brilliant and continuing academic career. His academic studies began in 1928 with the study of history at the Clement of Ochrid University in Sofia, and for the next four years he labored under the tutelage of Professors V.N. Zlatarski, P. Mutafchiev, P.M. Bitsilli and V.I. Miakotin. This early exposure to work under internationally recognized scholars prepared him for his graduate studies in Italy.

Arriving in Rome in late 1932 with a Bulgarian state scholarship in hand, the young Dujčev immersed himself in the further study of Byzantine history, philology, and paleography in order to prepare himself for research in the Vatican Library and Archives. While studying at the university in Rome, he took courses from S.G. Mercati, N. Festa, and V. Usami. Upon the completion of his work in 1935, he presented shortly thereafter his thesis for the doctorate, a study of the Byzantine-Bulgarian family of Asenides. And as a further demonstration of his vast personal energy, Professor Dujčev took courses in archivistics and librarianship at the Vatican School of Archivists and Paleographers, from which he received a diploma in 1934. His close friendship and collaboration with the *Scriptor* of the Vatican Archives, Ciro Giannelli, proved invaluable to his subsequent research and writing. Professor Dujčev concluded his days as a student and researcher in Rome with the publication of his first monograph: *Avvisi di Ragusa. Documenti sull'impero turco nel sec. XVII e sulla guerra di Candia.*

In the spring of 1935, Professor Dujčev returned to Sofia, where he at once launched his teaching career at the university. Less than a decade later he received a Chair in Bulgarian, Byzantine and Balkan History. But in 1944 he was honored with an appointment to the Institute of History of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, where he remained for the next three decades, although he continued to offer courses at the university and on occasion offered specialized courses in archivistics, paleography, and diplomacy. During this span of scholarly activity, Professor Dujčev's research and writing have touched upon Byzantine, Bulgarian and other historical and sundry problems from the

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sixth to the seventeenth centuries. His expertise on Bulgarian and Byzantine questions is well demonstrated in the extensive bibliography which follows, including nearly six hundred works.

The history of medieval Bulgaria, however, occupied a central place in his work. His research took him to a study of the questions relative to the arrival of the first Slavs in the Balkan peninsula, the appearance of the proto-Bulgars on the Byzantine Danubian frontier, the formation of the First Bulgarian Empire and its domestic and foreign affairs, the evolution of Christianity among the Bulgars and Slavs, and the rise of heretical movements and of Catholicism in Bulgaria. His scholarly endeavors included the study of a number of cultural questions, including letters, language, folklore, art and architecture.

While Professor Dujčev devoted much attention in his studies to the early period—to the thirteenth century, he did not ignore especially the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Mainly, he concerned himself with the liberation of Bulgaria from Byzantine domination, and the consolidation of the Bulgarian state in the early decades of the thirteenth century. This then led him to a comprehensive examination of the Turkish conquest of the Balkan peninsula and its impact upon the peoples of that area.

A fundamental theme, however, emerges from his life-long efforts: his concern with the problems attendant the Byzantine-Slav world. This concern included political, cultural, religious, and economic questions. This thematic concern is best exemplified with the publication of his three volume study—*Medioevo bizantino-slavo,* one of the most comprehensive and interdisciplinary treatments of the Byzantine-Slav world. And yet, Professor Dujčev's studies would not have been complete without numerous contributions to Cyrillo-Methodiana. His significant investigations of the cultural activities of these first Slavic apostles have added immeasurably to our body of knowledge.

His life-long scholarly and teaching efforts have brought him numerous distinctions. He traveled widely througout Europe and North America, delivering papers, lectures, and other speaking activities. He spent the academic year of 1969-70 at the Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies in Washington, D.C., pursuing further research in the Byzantine-Slavic field, and while in the United States he lectured at Harvard, UCLA, Michigan, and other leading American universities. His Bulgarian colleagues named him professor emeritus in 1971. Among the foreign honors bestowed upon him the following should be noted: "Membre étranger de l'Academia delle scienze, lettere e arti de Palerme" (1967), "Membre l'Académie de Naples" (1975), "Member-correspondant de l'Istituto Siciliano di studi bizantini e neoellenici" (1975), and "Member of the British Academy of Sciences" (1976). Further, in Vienna in 1974 he received the *Prix Herder* for his historical research and writings.

I am most honored to have been asked to compile and edit the following essays which further recognize with esteem decades of scholarly endeavor.

Shepherd College

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WALTER K. HANAK, compiler (Shepherdstown, W.V., U.S.A.)

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The list which follows contains all of Professor Dujčev's scholarly published works from the inception of his academic career to the end of 1978. Several of his forthcoming publications are also included. I have divided this list into four parts: Monographs (included edited works); Articles; Reviews; and Miscellaneous Contributions (including prefaces and introductions to monographs and edited works, editorial comments, bibliographical compilations, etc.). The descriptions for each entry are complete, and where an article or monograph is later reprinted or appears in a collected work, no separate entry appears for the latter, but notice is given of its reprint with the initial listing of the publication. In addition to the works listed below, Professor Dujčev has published about 1,800 articles in popular journals and newspapers.

I wish to take this opportunity to thank Mrs. Irene Vaslef, Librarian at the Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, Washington, D.C., and Professor Philip Shashko of the Department of History, the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, for their invaluable assistance in the compilation of this bibliography. Reference should also be made to the following compilations which proved most useful in the preparation of my own list:

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ARTICLES

ROBERT BROWNING (London, England)

An Unpublished Address of Nicephorus Chrysoberges to Patriarch John X Kamateros of 1202

Nicephorus Chrysoberges belonged to the last generation of the metropolitan culture of the age of the Comneni, the generation which saw the capture of the city by the Fourth Crusade and lived to hand on their intellectual heritage to the new centres of Greek culture in Nicaea and Smyrna.[1] He is probably to be identified with Nicephorus Chrysoberges, *patriarchikos notarios* and signatory of a synodal decision of 1172, which would suggest a date of birth not later than 1142.[2] He belonged to a family of the civilian or official aristocracy which had first risen to prominence in the reign of Basil II.[3] His maternal uncle, Theodore Galenos, who became Metropolitan of Sardis some time in the second half of the twelfth century, belonged to a family of military aristocrats whose distinction dated from the ninth century.[4]

He held some appointment in the Patriarchal School during the patriar-

1. On Chrysoberges' life and writings, cf. K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur von Justinian bis zum Ende der Oströmischen Reiches (527-1453)*, 2nd ed., Handbuch der classischen Altertumswissenschaft . . . 9. Bd., 1 Abt. (München: C. H. Beck, 1897), p. 470, M. Treu, *Nicephori Chrysobergae ad Angelos orationes tres*, Programm der Konigl. Friedrichsgymnasium zu Breslau (Breslau: Druck von Otto Gutssmann, 1892), J. R. Asmus, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 15 (1906), 125-30; F. Widmann, "Die Progymnasmata des Nikephoros Chrysoberges," *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbucher*, 12 (1935-36), 15-25; I. Dujčev, *Проучвания върху българското средновековие*. Сборник на Българската академия на науките, част 1 (Sofiia: Българската академия на науките, 1945), pp. 91-110; S. G. Marcati, "Poesie giambiche di Niceforo Chrysoberges, Metropolita di Sardi," in *Miscellanea Giovanni Galbiati*, 3 vols. Fontes Ambrosiani, 26-27 (Milano: U. Hoepli, 1951), II, 253-68; R. Browning, "The Patriarchal School at Constantinople in the Twelfth Century," *Byzantion*, 32 (1962), 184-86; C. Foss, *Byzantine and Turkish Sardis*, Monograph-Archaeological Exploration of Sardis, 4 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1976), pp. 85-86.

2. V. N. Beneševič, *Описание греческих рукописей монастыря святой Екатерины на Синае*, 2 vols. (St. Petersburg: Изд. Имп. Академии наукъ, 1911-17), I, 290.

3. A. P. Kazhdan, *Социальный состав господствующего класса Византии XI-XII вв.* (Moscow: Наука, 1974), pp. 118 and 126; N. A. Bees, Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν, 2 (1925), 143.

4. Mercati and Kazhdan, p. 159.

chate of Nicetas II Muntanes (1186-89) and is later attested as *μαίστωρ τῶν ῥητόρων* in the first years of the thirteenth century.[5] In due course, and not earlier than 1204, he received his reward for long service on the patriarchal staff and was appointed Metropolitan of Sardis, in succession to his uncle who had died after a five-year tenure of the see. He was still alive and in office in 1213, when he signed a synodal letter.[6]

Like most of his colleagues in the Patriarchal School in the twelfth century he was a man of letters. A collected edition of his *λόγοι* seems to have been made, perhaps by the author himself, of which débris survive in two manuscripts, *cod. Scorial. gr. Y-II-10* (now 265) (=E) and *cod. Vindob. philol. gr. 321 (=V)*, both of the thirteenth century. Of his works there survive:

1. *Address to Alexios III of 1200* (?)
2. *Address to Alexios III of 1202*
3. *Address to Alexios III of 1203* (All first edited by M. Treu in 1892)
4. *Address to Constantine Mesopotamites*, perhaps dated 1188 (E fol. 283^{v}-85^{v}, V fol. 260^{v}-62^{v})
5. *Address to Patriarch Nicetas III Muntanes* (E fol. 23-26)
6. *Address to Patriarch John X Kamateros of 1202* (V fol. 246-53^{v})
7. *Letter to the Bishop of Demetrias* (V fol. 262^{v}-63)
8. *Progymnasmata* (ed. F. Widmann, BNJ 12C 1935-36) 15-25
9. Iambic poem on the *Dormition of the Virgin* (S. G. Mercati, Miscellanea Galbiati, 1951)
10. Two iambic epitaphs on Theodore Galenos, Metropolitan of Sardis (ed. S. G. Mercati, 1951)
11. Five short iambic poems of uncertain authorship edited by Mercati along with 9 and 10

In the present paper I propose to offer a first edition of item 6 in the above list. The first problem is to determine the date of the delivery of the address to the patriarch. The title gives the date as the fifth indication, year 6710, which corresponds to 1 September 1201-31 August 1202. The address is described as *logos deuteros*. This is not its number in the collected edition of Chrysoberges' works, since no other surviving work is numbered. It rather indicates that this was the second address to the patriarch, or the second address delivered in the current year. The former explanation is unlikely, as Chrysoberges seems to have been in office as *μαίστωρ τῶν ῥητόρων* since 1200 at the latest, and the delivery of an annual address to the pat-

5. Browning, *loc. cit.*

6. A. Pavlov, "Синодальная грамота 1213 года о браке греческаго императора с дочерью армянскаго князя," *Византийский временник*, 4 (1897), 164-66.

riarch formed part of the duties of this official. We are left with the probability that this was the second address in the year 1 September 1201-31 August 1202, and that there was something unusual about this. In the text (§ 1) the speaker declares that he had already sharpened his tongue by praise of the patriarch, and was ready to go on to an *encomium* of the emperor, but that this was impossible, so that he was obliged to return to the theme of the patriarch. The emperor, he adds, was absent on a campaign which had already been prolonged (§ 2). Now we know that in the twelfth century it was the custom for the μαΐστωρ τῶν ῥητόρων to deliver an encomium of the emperor or the patriarch on the feast of Epiphany on 6 January.[7] The only other regular occasion for a panegyric by the *maistor* was the Feast of Lazarus (Σαββάτον τοῦ Λαζάρου), eight days before Easter Sunday.[8] A likely occasion for the present speech would therefore be the Feast of Lazarus of 1202, which fell on Saturday, 6 April.

In § 2 Chrysoberges, developing a stock theme of imperial panegyric, contrasts the clemency of the emperor towards his subjects with the bravery he displays against the enemy, whom he describes as "rebels." The reference must be to the campaign of Alexios III against Manuel Kamytzes, Dobromir Chrysos, and John Spyridonakes, who were profiting by the change in the balance of power in the Balkans produced by the revival of Bulgarian independence to set up their own virtually independent principalities in Thessaly, Macedonia and Rhodope. Two other rhetorical texts also refer in some detail to this campaign. They are Nicetas Choniates' *Oration 11*[9] and the second of the published speeches of Nicephorus Chrysoberges.[10] Both these speeches were delivered shortly after the return of Alexios III to the capital after the conclusion of a campaign the results of which, in the words of a recent study, "amounted to the restoration of situation which had prevailed prior to the Battle of Arkadiopolis in 1194, with the Vlach-Bulgarian state restricted to the Balkan Mountains and the Danuban [*sic*] shores and crippled by the loss of its German troops."[11] The speech of Chrysoberges was the object of a detailed study by Ivan Dujčev,[12] in which he seeks among other

7. Browning, pp. 12 ff.

8. Cf. Eustathios' address to Michael of Anchialos: ἀναγωσθεὶς εἰς τὴν μνήμην τοῦ δικαίου Λαζάρου, καθ' ἣν ἀναγιγνώσκειν ἔθος τοῖς ῥήτορσιν ἐν τῷ πατριαρχείῳ (Browning, p. 189); Manuel Karantenos' address: ἀναγνωσθεὶς συνήθως ἐν τῷ πατριαρχείῳ κατὰ τὴν ἑορτὴν τοῦ δικαίου Λαζάρου, ὅτε οἱ τοῦ ῥήτορος μαθηταὶ ἀναγινώσκουσι (*ibid.*, p. 199); Constantine Stilbes' νέῳ τινὶ ῥητορικὸς εἰς τὸν πατριάρχην κυρὸν Γεώργιον τὸν Ξιφιλῖνον κατὰ τὸν Σάββατον τοῖ Λαζάρου (ibid., p. 26).

9. J.-L. van Dieten, *Nicetae Choniatae orationes et epistulae*, Corpus fontium historiae Byzantinae, vol. III, Series Berolinensis (Berlin-New York: de Gruyter, 1972), pp. 106-12.

10. Treu, pp. 13-23.

11. C. M. Brand, *Byzantium Confronts the West, 1180-1204* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press., 1968), p. 135.

12. Dujčev, *loc. cit.*

things to establish the chronology of the campaign. His conclusion that the emperor's military operations took place in the autumn and early winter of 1201 and that he had returned victorious to the capital by January, 1202, is at variance with the evidence of the present oration, which suggests that Alexios was still in the field in early April, 1202, and that there were as yet no definite victories to report. His argument turns largely on the date of the speech which he discusses. But this depends on a title in which something has clearly been omitted, as Dujčev recognises.[13] And *μετὰ παραδρομὴν οὐκ ὀλίγην τῆς ἑορτῆς τῶν φώτων* suggests a delay of more than a few days. Brand follows Dujčev's dating.[14] It would probably be sounder to base the dating of these events on the evidence of the oration here edited than on the confused and ambiguous title of the speech published by Treu.

The principal interest of the present text lies in the information which it furnishes on the life and writings of John X Kamateros and on the prevailing attitude towards the Latin Church and the West in general in ecclesiastical circles in Constantinople at a moment when the armies of the Fourth Crusade were already assembling in Venice and when the intentions of its leaders were far from clear.

Most of what Chrysoberges says about the patriarch is either conventional or already known. To the latter category belong the statement that he was related to the imperial family (§ 3)–he was in fact some kind of cousin of the Empress Euphrosyne, both being apparently grandchildren of Gregorios Kamateros, the first member of the family to attain high office, and Eirene Doukaina, a kinswoman of the consort of Alexios I[15]–and that he had held many ecclesiastical offices before being raised to the patriarchate.[16] But there is some new information. We learn that he had a classical literary education, including the study of philosophy (§ 7). And we learn something of his writings. Those attributed to him hitherto are two letters to Pope Innocent III, of which one has been published in Latin translation, the other only in excerpts, synodal documents on the heresy of Michael Glykas, on the questions of the Armenian bishop Nerses, and on various dogmatic questions,

13. *Ibid.*, p. 91, n. 3.

14. Brand, p. 276.

15. Cf. D. I. Polemis, *The Doukai: A Contribution to Byzantine Prosopography*, Univ. of London Historical Studies, 22 (London: The Athlone Press, Univ. of London, 1968), pp. 125-33, where references will be found to earlier discussions of the Kamateros family. To these should be added the numerous references to the family in Kazhdan, particularly pp. 135, 137, and 171.

16. He was *chartophylax* of the Great Church immediately before his elevation. On his earlier career, cf. *Ἀνάλεκτα Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς Σταχυολογίας*, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 5 vols. (St. Petersburg: *ἐκ τοῦ τυπογραφείου* B. *Πι-σβάουμ*, 1891-98), II, 370 (Sept. 1191); G. A. Rhalles and M. Potles, *Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων κτλ.*, 6 vols. (Athinai: *ἐκ τῆς τυπογραφίας* Γ. *Χαρτοφύλακος*, 1852-59), V, 102 (24 Feb. 1197).

and probably three anti-Latin treatises first published anonymously and attributed by Draeseke to a probably non-existent Nicolaus of Methone the Younger.[17] To these the present text now enables us to add a number of catechetical and pastoral treatises, not very clearly delineated (§ 14), and a series of polemical treatises addressed to the Jews, which Chrysoberges describes as "mild and cheerful" (§ 18). The latter appear to have reflected the easy-going tolerance of Jewish communities characteristic of Byzantium in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, which was soon to be replaced by a régime of restriction and humiliation imported from the West.[18]

Of more importance are Chrysoberges' observations on the Latins and on the pope. This section of his oration which occupies § 16-18, is remarkable for its virulence. Pride, he says, is the essential quality of the Italians, of which their "swagger" (*σόβημα*) is the visible sign. They are self-willed and opinionated. The many concessions which the Byzantines have made to them are useless, since they insist on pressing their blasphemous ideas on the Procession of the Holy Spirit. They have roused against the Byzantines *τὴν βαθυτέραν Εὐρωπαίαν Ῥώμην καὶ τὸν ἐκείνης πρόεδρον* (§ 17).

The charge that "the Italians" have aroused Rome and the Papacy against the Byzantines must surely imply that the long-standing doctrinal controversy between the Eastern and Western Churches had taken a new turn. If the suggested date of this address is correct, then it was delivered at a time when the forces of the Fourth Crusade had assembled in Venice—or rather in a camp on one of the islands of the Lido. The flight of Alexios Angelos, the son of the deposed and blinded Isaac II, probably took place by September or October, 1201.[19] At any rate there was time for the news of his favourable reception by Philip of Swabia and his meeting with the pope to reach Constantinople. The long-standing theological quarrel had suddenly taken on menacing political and military overtones. It was too early to speak of the diversion of the Crusade. The negotiations between Venice and the Crusaders concerning Zara were probably still under way. But the possibility of a campaign against the empire, supported and given respectability by Innocent III, was not difficult to discern.

Chrysoberges goes on to give a highly partial account of the correspondence between Pope Innocent and the patriarch, which is represented in the light of a Homeric battle, and as an encounter between a gallant David and a brutal Goliath. The pope is accused of showing typical Italian arrogance, of behaving like a savage beast, and of making demands which no patriarch

17. Details in H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*, Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, 12 Abt. (München: Beck, 1959), p. 664.

18. Cf. A. Sharf, *Byzantine Jewry from Justinian to the Fourth Crusade*, The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization (New York: Schocken Books, 1971), pp. 132-57.

19. Brand, p. 276.

could accept. Either the pope gives up his claim to supremacy and forms a union with the Eastern Church on equal terms, or he will be cast out like Nebuchadnezzar. The tone is virulent. The pope is compared not only to Nebuchadnezzar, but, with the coupling of Biblical and classical allusions so common in Byzantine rhetoric, to Typhon about to be blasted by Zeus. And the rare–and offensive–word κατακόρυζος (snivelling, snotty) is twice applied to him.[20]

Now we know something of this correspondence. In 1198, presumably shortly after the patriarch's accession, Innocent III wrote to him setting out the Petrine theory of papal supremacy and asking the patriarch to take the lead towards union with Rome. This letter survives.[21] Kamateros replied in February 1199, expressing doubt about the supremacy of the bishop of Rome and accusing the pope of promoting schism by introducing the *filioque* into the Nicene Creed. The Greek text of this letter is preserved in *cod. Paris 1302* fol. 273^{v}-75^{r}, while the Latin translation made in the Roman curia is published.[22] On 12 December 1199, Innocent III replied to the patriarch with a long disquisition on the divine institution of Papal supremacy, acceptance of which was to be a necessary condition for participation in the council proposed by the emperor and tentatively accepted by the pope. Some time in 1200 the patriarch sent to the pope a letter totally rejecting the arguments for papal supremacy, which has been published only in excerpts.[23]

During these years there had been going on an exchange of letters between pope and emperor, parallel to that between pope and patriarch. Early in 1198 the emperor wrote to the pope, congratulating him on his accession and suggesting that they take measures together to advance their common interest. In the ensuing correspondence the areas of common interest were defined and the attitudes of both parties towards them made clear–or deliberately left vague. The pope was eager for Church unity under Roman supremacy and for Byzantine cooperation in the restoration of the Holy Places to Christian rule. The emperor was anxious for papal help in recovering Cyprus from Amalric of Lusignan. Both parties agreed, somewhat lukewarmly, to convene a church council in the near future. Underlying these

20. The same point about the "snivelling" of the Latins is made by Nicetas Choniates, writing some years later (*Historia*, ed. I. Bekker, Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae [Bonn: impensis E. Weberi, 1835], 164. 60 and 302. 33). The essence of the slander is that the Latins hold their heads high because they have running noses. It must have been a commonplace of popular Byzantine thought around 1200.

21. *Gesta Innocentii Pp. III*, in *Patrologiae cursus completus. Scriptores latini*, ed. J. P. Migne, 221 vols. (Paris: J. P. Migne, 1844-64), CCXIV, cols. 325-29.

22. *Ibid.*, cols. 756-72.

23. M. Jugie, *Theologia dogmatica Christianorum orientalium ab Ecclesia catholica dissidentium*, 5 vols. (Paris: sumptibus Letouzey et Ané, 1926-35), IV, 341, 342, and 386-87.

overt interests, both parties needed the support of the other to prevent the establishment of German authority in Sicily and Italy, which would have upset the whole balance of power in the Mediterranean. This virtual political alliance between empire and papacy survived even the flight to Italy of Prince Alexios and his proposal, after the capture of Zara in 1202, to divert the Crusade to Constantinople. An embassy was sent to Rome by Alexios III to challenge the younger Alexios' claims and to warn the pope of the danger of becoming a puppet of the Hohenstaufens. The pope responded by opposing the Crusaders' plan to attack Constantinople and reminding the emperor of the need to do something concrete to further church unity.[24]

Against this background of a common political front between emperor and pope, how are we to interpret this speech delivered in the presence of the patriarch by a senior official of the Great Church? If there were any Latins in Chrysoberges' audience who were capable of understanding his Atticising Greek and his allusive rhetoric, they might see in the speech a revelation of the duplicity which they believed typical of the Byzantines.[25] The emperor's professed readiness to foster church union, they might say, was shown up as mere window dressing. But the situation was probably more complex. Alexios III was sincere enough in his desire for church union, as were Michael VIII, John V, and John VIII after him. It was the price which they thought would secure the political and military safety of the empire and prevent all its potential enemies turning against it at once. It was a step which these emperors felt they could take in virtue of their unlimited political authority, just as they could make war and peace, sign treaties or impose taxes.[26] Such a measure might lead to riots in the streets of the capital. But a reigning emperor, safe behind the walls of the Great Palace or the Palace of Blachernae, and protected by his Varangians or other mercenary guards, could overlook popular discontent unless a rival candidate for imperial power emerged and gained support. The rioters would eventually disperse to their homes. An example could perhaps be made of a few. Order would be restored. A patriarch was not insulated from popular feeling. He had no Varangians to protect him. He lived next to the Great Church, on the main square of the capital. He had daily to justify and defend his position before the *Synodos Endemousa*,[27] whose members were his near equals in

24. On relations between emperor and pope at this time, cf. Brand, pp. 224-29.

25. Cf. most recently, D. E. Queller and S. J. Stratton, "A Century of Controversy on the Fourth Crusade," *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, 6 (1969), 235 ff.; and the material collected in B. Ebels-Hoving, *Byzantium in westerse ogen 1096-1204* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1971), *passim*.

26. Cf. Balsamon on the Fifteenth Canon of the Council of Carthage: ἡ βασιλικὴ ἐξουσία πάντα δύναται ποιεῖν.

27. Cf. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur*, pp. 42-44; L. Bréhier, *Le monde byzantin*, 3 vols. (Paris: A. Michel, 1947-50), II, 490.

dignity and were not in any important sense subject to his authority, an authority which depended on the prestige of the office and its holder, and not on the means of coercion. He was therefore more closely in touch with popular feeling and less able to stand up against it than the emperor. And public feeling in Constantinople, for reasons which had probably nothing to do with theology, had since the eighties of the twelfth century taken such a sharply anti-Western turn that no concessions to Latin prestige or authority were any longer acceptable. It was in this way that the people of the capital exteriorised their sense of humiliation and helplessness before growing Western economic and military power, and the disappointment engendered by the Crusades.[28] The present oration, which must, to use a modern phrase, have been cleared with the patriarch, is a shot across the bows of imperial policy, a warning that the programme of church union, if persisted in, would inevitably lead to the emergence of another claimant for imperial power, who would enjoy the support of the church leadership. We are very far from the Caesaropapism so often attributed to the Byzantines.

It could be said that Chrysoberges and the patriarch whose mouthpiece he was saw more clearly than Alexios III and his advisers the true situation and the radical change which had taken place since the fugitive Alexios Angelos had established contact with the leaders of the Fourth Crusade. Perhaps the speech represents the views not only of the clergy but of the friends and supporters of the energetic Empress Euphrosyne, whose kinsman the patriarch was, and who is praised so lavishly as a true daughter of Byzantium (§ 5). Since her alleged marital infidelity and six months exile in 1196-97 Euphrosyne had been restored to her place in the palace, but relations between her and her husband were strained.[29] Her friends included not only the patriarch, but the once all-powerful Constantine Mesopotamites, now in disgrace and perhaps in exile, the commander of the fleet Michael Stryphnos, and others. One can dimly discern the outlines of a court cabal hostile to the ineffectual Alexios III. Be that as it may, this speech by a teacher of rhetoric is the earliest indication that a point of no return had been reached on the road which led to the capture of the city by the Crusaders.

Resume

1. As time moves in cycles, so does my rhetoric. Having voiced the praise of the patriarch it was ready to go on to that of the emperor, but was prevented

28. Cf. D. J. Geanakoplos, *Interaction of the "Sibling" Byzantine and Western Cultures in the Middle Ages and Italian Renaissance (330-1600)* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press., 1976), pp. 3-24; and D. Jacoby, "The Encounter of Two Societies: Western Conquerors and Byzantines in the Peloponnesus after the Fourth Crusade," *American Historical Review*, 78 (1973), 873-906.

29. Cf. Brand, pp. 144-46.

and so returns to its original topic.

2. The long absence of the emperor on campaigns is the reason for my innovation. He displays the two royal virtues of clemency and courage, shown towards his subjects and his enemies respectively, just as the sun gently warms in some regions, but burns up fiercely in others, turning the skins of the inhabitants black. So my speech was eager to move from the mildness of the patriarch to the splendour of the emperor.

3. But the emperor's absence forces me to return to my starting point, and to address myself henceforth to the patriarch alone. This is no diminution of my speech, since the patriarch is related to the imperial family, and hence I shall mention the emperor in praising him, and the apparent diminution of my theme will become an augmentation. So let me set out on my task, which is at once difficult and easy, the former because of the elevation of the subject, the latter because of its richness.

4. The patriarch is to be compared with a splendid palace rather than with a common house. His noble birth is the surrounding wall, his parents and ancestors the pillars, the emperor and empress are twin vestibules. There follow his education and upbringing, like an entrance-hall. His noble deeds are the interior chamber, which is sustained by the two columns of Hellenic learning and Christian doctrine.

5. My speech would like to omit the preliminaries on birth and education and begin with the patriarch himself. But the rules of rhetoric hold it back and make it dwell on these topics. But they are too well-known to call for lengthy treatment. You know our noble emperor and his consort, a daughter of this capital city, which she adorns. As Athena sprang from the head of Zeus, so the empress was born from the chief of cities.

6. It is from the same family that the patriarch springs, and his royal lineage protects the church.

7. The future patriarch was educated by his parents in ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία, then in rhetoric, philosophy and mathematics, learning thoroughly the doctrines of Plato, Aristotle, and the Stoics as well as the higher philosophy of Christianity. As the sun combines two apparent opposite movements, so the patriarch followed the course of profane philosophy and at the same time was borne along on that of the higher philosophy. He was a veritable god of eloquence in Christian form.

8. It would need the tongue of a Homer to describe the eloquence of the patriarch. Only the patriarch himself could do himself justice.

9. The patriarch is equally master of the spoken and the written word. As the bee makes both wax and honey, so did he mingle sweetness and firmness, avoiding extremes.

10. Happy were the patriarchs and emperors who enjoyed his teaching. Would that I could use some of your writings to make my speech more persuasive. But I see that I am drawing too many arguments from what is

past.

11. Now I shall go on to the present. The patriarch is no newcomer to ecclesiastical dignity, but has held many offices in the church. His patriarchate is no flash in the pan. The moon waxes slowly, the sun rises by degrees. So the patriarch has been raised by the Holy Spirit and has finally, like Joshua, become the champion of the Trinity and the herald of the gospel.

12. The patriarch is endowed with all the moral virtues, both personal and relative, and in particular generosity or charity, with which he corrects the errors of fortune and the monastic virtue of continence.

13. The clarity of the patriarch's style is never marred by displays of rhetorical devices or linguistic infelicities. His learning is combined with grace, he mingles modesty with grandeur. His style matches his character. As the sun when it rises bright but not hot presages good weather, so the patriarch's moderate style makes his writings clear and pleasant.

14. Even more admirable than their style is their content and spirit. He strikes down with his words the two-headed monster of pride and tramples upon it. He encourages us to do the same. He spits in the mouths of the poisonous snakes of vice. Every year he publishes a new attack on vice, eschewing the traditional topics of fasting or prayer. His words are like the angel of the Lord in their regular coming. He uproots error as a farmer uproots weeds. I exemplify from two of his works, published and unpublished.

15. The patriarch is equally distinguished in catechetic and in dogmatic treatises, defeating the enemy on both grounds. I could conclude here, but am drawn on by the patriarch's own writings against vanity, which develops in light-weight and frivolous spirits, given to disrespect and vagrancy. It leads in time to alienation from God and heresy.

16. This is exemplified by the Italians, who are as inseparable from pride as a leopard from its spots or a camel from its hump. They give themselves airs in theology too. Their destined adversary is the patriarch, who is the embodiment of humility. They are as distant from us in ideas as in space. We make concessions to many features of their theological bluntness, but we cannot give way to them on the procession of the Holy Spirit. In their pride they falsify the gospel.

17. They roused the pope to attack the patriarch by letter as soon as he was enthroned, but he repulsed the attacks. The papal letters showed the typical Italian emptiness and vanity, which met with a firm and irresistible response from the patriarch in his letter of reply. The snivelling foreigner was reduced to silence. After a time the pope returned to the charge with another epistle, as empty and pompous as the first, and full of threats and unworthy of a bishop. The patriarch replied a second time, basing himself upon the gospel. His letter was like a thunderbolt. He forbade the pope to claim to be head of the church, for Christ alone is that.

18. No words of mine are sufficient to do justice to the patriarch's reply

to the pope. His address to the Jews was eirenic in tone. His many other writings I pass over in silence. When the warlike bishop of the Italians attacked and the patriarch responded, the pope then made his savage assault, and the patriarch dispatched his reply, the pope should have retreated, but like a wild boar he made a further savage onslaught. What could be found to say against the dignified pronouncements of the patriarch? There are two courses open to him. If he wants unity let him join us. If not let him join the enemy. If he has learnt from his defeat, let him count among the disciples, if not he will be numbered among the wild beasts like Nebuchadnezzar. If he attacks, he will be destroyed by the patriarch as the giants were destroyed by Zeus.

19. The Lord comes in gentleness and his bishop will respond to a friendly approach and welcome the pope into unity. But if he comes in enmity like a second Herod we can be sure that God will give us victory. I could say more, so great is my theme. I shall rather be like the elephant which throws itself into a chasm so that the rest may cross over on its back. May my hearers use my speech as a bridge to the patriarch. May you live long, and continue to provide themes for eloquence.

The Text

The text of Chrysoberges' oration is preserved in a single manuscript, *cod. Vindob. philol. gr. 321*,[30] of the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century. It is a manuscript of minute format, written almost entirely in a tiny, fluent hand with many tachygraphical abbreviations. Like *cod. Oxon. Barocci 121*, *cod. Scorial Y-II-10*, *cod. Vat. gr. 305* and others, it is a collection of texts, often unique, of the rhetorical literature of the age of the Comneni. It is likely to have been written by a scholar in the closing decades of the Nicaean empire or the decades immediately following the restoration of Michael VIII in 1261. The works of Chrysoberges occupy foll. 246-63. In the critical apparatus to the following text, no account has been taken of mere orthographical errors, which are in any case few in number.

30. On this manuscript, which has not yet been described in the new catalogue of the Greek manuscripts of the Österreichische National-Bibliothek at present in course of publication, cf. D. de Nessel, *Catalogus sive recensio specialis omnium codicum manuscriptorum graecorum, necnon linguarum Orientalium Augustissimae Bibliothecae Caesareae Vindobonensis* . . . , 7 parts in 1 vol. (Wien and Nürnberg: typis L. Vogt et J. B. Endteri, 1690): S. Lampros, Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων, 13 (1916/17), 3-22; R. Browning, "The Speeches and Letters of Georgios Tornikes, Metropolitan of Ephesos (XIIth Century)," in *Actes du XIIe Congrès International d'Etudes Byzantines, Ochride 10-16 septembre*, 1961, 3 vols. (Beograd, 1963-64), II, 421-27; and J. Darrouzès, *Georges et Dèmètrios Tornikès. Lettres et discours*, Le Monde byzantin (Paris: Editions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1970).

fol. 246 Τοῦ αὐτοῦ λόγος ῥητορικὸς δεύτερος, ἀναγνωσθεὶς εἰς τὸν πατριάρχην κυρὸν Ἰωάννην τὸν Καματηρὸν κατὰ τὴν ἐ ἰνδ. τοῦ ἔτους 5ψί.

* * *

1. Ἀπέκειτο καὶ τοῦτο, θειοτάτη συναγωγή, μὴ μόνον τὸν εὐπερίστροφον χρόνον ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ συμπεριήκειν εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ καθὼς ἐκ φύσεως ἔλαχεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ λόγον αὐτὸν ἐφ' ἡμῖν τῷ χρόνῳ ταὐτοπαθεῖν. ἐκ μὲν γὰρ ἐγκωμίων πρὶν πατριαρχικῶν τὴν τρυφερὰν τῆς σοφιστείας γλῶτταν μᾶλλον ὀξύναντες, εἰς τοὺς βασιλικοὺς αἰνετηρίους ἄγειν ταύτην ἔνθεν εὔθηκτον ἐδεχόμεθα. ἡ δὲ διακοπεῖσα τῆς ἐκεῖ προσελεύσεως, κατὰ περιτροπήν τινα καὶ συνελιγμὸν ἐνταῦθα πάλιν προσεπινεύει, καὶ ὅθεν ὥρμηται τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκεῖ φιλυποστροφεῖ, ἵνα μὴ μόνον κύκλος εἴη σχῆμα παρὰ τοῖς ῥήτορσι ἡ ἐκ τῶν λέξεων εἰς τὰς ὁμοίας οὕτω λέξεις κατάληξις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅλη κυκλεύῃ κατακράτος ῥητορικὴ, ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐννοιῶν τῶν ἱεραρχικῶν ἀγαθῶν, εἰς τὰς αὐτὰς ἐννοίας ἀμέσως ἀρχομένη τε καὶ περαίνουσα.

2. Τό δ' ἅπαν δέδρακε τοῖς ἡμετέροις λόγοις καινοπρεπές, τὸ τοῦ ἡμῶν αὐτοκράτορος φιλοπόλεμον καὶ φιλόμαχον, καὶ ὅτι μὴ τοῖς ἐνταυθοῖ θαλάμοις, ὅσοι ταῖς βασιλικαῖς διατριβαῖς ἐκπετάννυνται, ἐνιδιάζειν θέλει καὶ καθιδρύεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐνδημεύει τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ παρατείνει τὸν ἀπόδημον μήκιστον, κρατερὸς ἐκεῖ καθ' Ὅμηρον αἰχμητὴς ὁ ἀγαθὸς ὡδὶ βασιλεύς. διττῶν γὰρ ὄντων καλῶν
fol. 246v ὁπόσοις τὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἐμπρέποντα χαρακτηρίζειν εἰώθαμεν, ἀνδρείας τε καὶ πραύτητος, ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ἄμφω συσχὼν ἡμῖν τε ἅμα τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τοῖς ἀντάρταις ὥσπερ ἔοικεν ἐμερίσατο, πραυθυμίας ἡμῖν ἀκτῖνα βάλλων φωτιστικήν, καὶ τὴν πυρφόρον τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἀνδρειότητος, καθ' οἷον λόγον ὁ ἥλιος, τὸ ἀρχικὸν στοιχεῖον τοῦτο παὶ φωτισήριον ὁμοῦ καὶ αἰθέριον, πραείαις ταῖς ἀκτῖσιν ἄλλοις προσομιλῶν, τοὺς περὶ τοὺς νοτίους ἐσχατεύοντας τέρμονας λυπραῖς ἐξεπέρασε, καὶ γε τὸν χρῶτα τούτοις πρὸς τὴν ἀπὸ μελαντηρίας συνήγαγεν ἐπίκαυσιν καὶ μετέβαλεν, οὕτω διεφορήθη πρὸς τὰς οἰκήσεις πανταχοῦ καὶ τὰ κλίματα. ὥρμητο μὲν ὡς προεθέμην καὶ ὁ τοῦ λόγου κρουνὸς τάχα, κατὰ τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ εὐωδεστάτου Λιβάνου μάλιστα ποταμούς, ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν εἰσβάλλοντας θάλασσαν, ὡς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς, ἐξ ὄρους πρῶτα πηγάσας πολλὴν πλουτοῦντος τοῦ ἱεράρχου τὴν ἐφολκὸν ἐκ τῶν χαρίτων ἀποφοράν, εἰς ἐρυθραῖον κόλπον ἐπίσημον ἰθυτενῶς περαιωθῆναι τὸν ἡμέτερον αὐτοκράτορα, καὶ τηλικούτῳ πελάγει τῶν ἐκείνου καλῶν τὰ ἑαυτοῦ κεράσασθαι χεύματα.

3. Ἀλλ' ὁ τοσοῦτος ἐξ ἡμῶν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν αὐτοῦ μακρισμὸς εὐθυφορούμενον ἐπέσχε τὸν ῥοῦν, καὶ τῆς ἰθυτενείας ἐς τοσοῦτον διέκοψεν,

ὅσον κατὰ τοὺς μὴ προβαίνειν εἰς μακρὰν ἰσχύοντας ῥύακας, ἐπανακάμψαι πάλιν πρὸς ἑαυτόν, κακεῖσε γοῦν ὀπόθεν ἔσχηκε τὴν πηγὴν ἐπιστραφῆναι παλιμπετῆ καθ' Ὅμηρον καὶ δωήεντα. καὶ γίνεται δὴ μονοειδὴς ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος ἐς νῦν, καὶ τὰ τοῦ σοφισμοῦ χωρῶσι μονότροπα, καὶ τὸν ἱεράρχην λαλητικῷ τῷ στόματι ἀσπαζόμενος τὸν βασιλέα σιωπητοῖς παρέρχεται χείλεσι, καὶ κολοβοῦσθαι κατὰ τοῦτο δοκεῖ καὶ ὀιονεὶ τεμνόμενος ἡμισεύεσθαι. μήποτε δὲ ἄρα καὶ ἐξαρκεῖν νενόμισται τῇ ῥητορικῇ τὸ πατριάρχην τηλικοῦτον κροτεῖν πρὸς τὸ σὺν τούτῳ μεγαλύνειν τοὺς αὐτοκράτορας, παρόσον εὐθὺς ἐκ γένους αὐτοῖς ὁ πατριάρχης ἀγχιστατεῖ, καὶ μεμνημένος τῇ σοφιστείᾳ τῶν πατριαρχικῶν ἀνόπιν ἀρχῶν ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ παραυτὰ ξυνεισέρχεται. καί γε συμβαίνει κατὰ τὰς διαλλήλους δείξεις, εἴπη ἄν, ἀνὴρ διαλεκτικὸς, εἰ βούλει δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὰ ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι φεράλληλά τε καὶ ἀλληλένδετα, τοῖς πατριαρχικοῖς αἰνετηρίοις τοὺς τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων ἐγκωμιαστικοὺς συνεισαγομένους εἶναι καὶ ἀντεισφέρεσθαι, ὥστε καὶ τὸ δοκοῦν τῷ ἡμετέρῳ σοφιστεύματι ἐλλειμμα τυγχάνειν ἄλλον τρόπον οὐκ ἔλλειμμα, ἐπιβολὴν μὲν οὖν τινὰ καὶ συναλοιφήν. καὶ κατὰ τοὺς ἐξευρημένους τοῖς πρὸ τοῦ σοφισταῖς ἐμπεπλεγμένους τρόπους γοργότητος ἐκ συναιρέσεως ἐπίτροχον ἄδομεν καὶ ὑποστρεπτικὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ ἐπίμικτον. καὶ ἐπειδήπερ οὕτω γε διῳκονομοῦμεθα, καὶ περιττεύομεν ἐν οἷς ἐνδεῖν εἰκαζόμεθα, καὶ ὑπερβάλλομεν ἐν οἷς ἐλλείπειν φαινόμεθα, τὴν προκειμένην ἄγε κέλευθον ἐπιδράμωμεν τραχεῖαν οὖσαν ἅμα καὶ ὁμαλὴν καὶ δύσπορον αὐτίκα καὶ εὔοδον. οὕτως ἐξ ἐναντιοτήτων πατριαρχικὸν ἐγκώμιον συγκεκρότηται, ἐκ/

fol. 247 δυσχερείας δῆλον ὡς καὶ ῥᾳότητος, ἐκεῖνο μὲν ἐφ' ὅσον ὑψηλὸν καὶ πρόσαντες ..... α, καὶ τοῖς Ἑρμαικοῖς δυσεπιχείρητον ἴχνεσι, ῥᾴδιον δὲ παρ' ὅσον ἄλλως ἀφορμὴν τῷ λέγοντι παρέχει πολύχοον, καὶ ὑπανοίγει πορρωτέρω τὸν πλατυσμὸν, καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐπίδηλον καὶ περιβλεπόμενον μακρὰν τοῖς βουλομένοις φιλοχωρεῖν ἐνδείκνυσιν φιλοχώρησιν.

4. Ἀνάκτορον ὁ πατριάρχης καὶ ἠσκημένον ἐς πολυτέλειον, οὐ κατὰ τοὺς ἐθάδας οἰκίσκους ἄλλους μικροσυντέλεστον, ὁπόσοις εἴσοδος ὁμοῦ καὶ θάλαμος ἀναμέμικται, καὶ οἳ μὴ προπυλαίοις ἀναπετάννυνται, μηδὲ προδόμοις προκεκόσμηνται καί θριγγοῖς, ἀλλ' ὡς οἱ ἀναπεπταμένοι ἐς μεγαλοπρεπὲς, πολυσχιδής τε καὶ πολυμέριστος. προϋπαντᾷ μὲν ἐρχομένοις τοῖς λόγοις θριγγὸς αὐτίκα πολυτελής. τὸ γένος οὗτος τὸ μεγαλογενές, καὶ ὁ θριγγὸς αὐλὴν ἀμφιελίσσει περίδρομον καὶ ἰκνουμένοις εἰς τὸ ἐγκώμιον προκόσμιον προφανὲς καὶ ἐξωτερικόν τι προέκκειται. καὶ στύλοι τὴν αὐλὴν παραλληλίζουσι σύστοιχοι, οἱ γενικῶς ἀνέχοντες ὕψεσι γονεῖς ὁμοῦ τε καὶ ἀγχιστεῖς τοῦ πατριάρχου καὶ πρόγονοι. δυὰς δὲ παραστάδων χρυσῶν, τῶν ἡμετέρων βασιλέων φημί, τερπνὸν

ὁμοῦ καὶ τίμιον καὶ τηλεφανὲς ἐνταῦθα συνιστῶσι προπύλαιον. Ζηνός που τοιήδε Ὀλυμπίου ἐνδόθεν αὐλή· ἡ Καλλιόπη γὰρ εὐθὺς τὸ ἔπος ἐφαρμοζέτω σοι. καὶ ἀναδέχεται τὸ ἀπὸ γένους τοῦτο προπύλαιον, καὶ τὴν προφαινομένην βασιλικὴν αὐλὴν καὶ ὑπέρογκον, ἐξ ἀνατροφῆς λαμπρᾶς εὐσύνθετος πλατυσμὸς ἀρίστοις ἐπιτηδεύμασι καὶ ἐπιστήμαις κομψαῖς, καὶ τῷ ἐλευθερίῳ τῆς παιδεύσεως ἅπαντι ἀμφιπολουμενός τε καὶ ἐπιχορευόμενος—δεύτερος οὗτος νόμος τῶν ἐγκωμίων— ἢ ἐπὶ προπύργῳ παραδόξῳ τινὶ καὶ προτεμενίσματι μεσολαβοῦσα τὶς πανάριστος ἔπαυλα, τοιούτοις προσκηνίοις ἐπιτυγχάνομεν καὶ τηλικοῦτοι τοῖς ἐπαινετηρίοις οἱ πρόδρομοι. προβαίνων δὲ περαιτέρω τὸ μεῖζον τελεώτερον ἱστορῶ τῶν ἐγκωμίων κεφάλαιον, τὰς ἐνεργείας λέγω τὰς πολυχόους τε ὁμοῦ καὶ διττάς, ὁπόσας λογιότης καὶ ἀρετὴ καθάπαρ χεῖρες αὗται δυαδικαὶ ποιοῦσι παρ' αὐτῷ, καὶ συμπλάττουσι θάλαμον ταύτας ὅσον μεγακλεῆ, πολλοῖς ἐξηνθισμένον τοῖς ἀρίστοις ποικίλμασιν, καὶ πλέους τοὺς ζητοῦντας ἐνθάλποντα. δύο δὲ πάλιν καλὰ τοὺς τοῦ θαλάμου τούτου σταθμοὺς συνδέουσι καὶ συνέχουσι· κομψῶς ἐστορεσμένη οὐδὸς τὸ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς παιδείας στερρὸν καὶ ὑποτεῖνον ὁμοῦ, καὶ χρυσέον καθύπερθεν ὑπερθύριον τὸ τῆς ὑψηλῆς θεογραφίας ὑπέρτερον καὶ τηλαυγὲς καὶ πολύτιμον. ἃ δὴ συνελθόντα τεραστως ὠδὶ τερπνὸν προσυφιστῶσι τῷ θαλάμῳ τὸ πρόσωπον. τοιοῦτον πολυσυντέλεστον τὸ τῆς φιλοσοφίας τε καὶ τῆς ἀρίστης πολιτείας ἀνάκτορον, τοῖς ἔξω τε προσκοσμήμασι καὶ τοῖς ἐντὸς καλλίστοις ἀμφιλαμπόμενον.

5. Βούλεται μὲν ὁ πτερόεις λόγος παραδραμεῖν τὰ προπύλαια, τὰ ἐκ τοῦ γένους τῆδε τηλεφανῆ, παραδραμεῖν τὸν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐνδοτέρω περίβολον, τὴν ἐξ ἀρίστης ἀρετῆς ἐπικόσμησιν,/

fol. 247v κατὰ δὲ τοὺς . . . . . ὀρνίθων ὀξυπετεῖς καὶ πάνυ τι σοβαρούς ὡς εἰς ἀέρα αλείονα ἐπαρθεὶς εἰς μέσον ἐπιτόμως καταπτῆναι τὸν θάλαμον, τὰ ἐν ἰδίῳ κάλλιστα πρεκτικ . . . . . καὶ τας οἰκείας τούτοις ἐφαπλώσασθαι πτέρυγας, ἵνα τῶν ἐγκωμίων τὸ τελικὸν αὐτὸς ἀρχὴν ἰδίαν ποιήσαιτο. ἀλλ' ἡ καθ' ἡμᾶς αὕτη ῥητορικὴ τὸν ἑαυτῆς γραμματέα κάλαμον παροξύνασα, καὶ ὥσπερ εἰ τοὺς λύγους οἱ ἱξευταί, τῷ ἑαυτῆς αὐτὸν θερμῷ ἐπιβάψασα, ἱξεύει παραυτίκα τὴν τοῦ λόγου μοι πτέρυγα, καὶ περιέλκει τοῦτον εἰς τὸ προπέτασμα καὶ εἰς τὰ πρόθυρα περιίστησιν. ἄγε μικρόν τι τούτοις ἐπικαθίσωμεν, καὶ ἐπ' ὀλίγον τι καὶ βραχὺ τὰ μέγιστα καὶ πλείω φθεγξώμεθα. φθεγξώμεθα μὲν ὅτι μὴ κατὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς σοφιστὰς ἐκ τεθνηκυίας παλαιᾶς ἀρετῆς ἀλλ' ἀπὸ ζώσης ἅμα καὶ ἐνεργοῦ τῆς αὐτοκρατορίας ταύτης τῆς πρὸς ἡμῖν τοὺς ἔνθεν αἴνους φθεγξαίμεθα. βραχυλογίᾳ δὲ μεταβαίημεν, ἐπεὶ τὰ μεγαλεῖα ταῦτ' ἐξεπίστασθε, καί γε τὰ προῦπτα πλατυλογεῖν ὑποβιβάζειν ἐστὶ μᾶλλον καὶ καθαιρεῖν καὶ ἐπιτρέπειν οἷον ἐς ὕπτιον. οἶδατε, ὦ

παρόντες, τὸν ἡμέτερον αὐτοκράτορα, τὸ τῆς ἀνεξικεκίας μέγα φυτόν, ἰθυτενὲς καὶ ὄρθιον καὶ εὐστέλεχον, παρόσον οὐ πλαγιάζειν οἶδε θυμῷ πλαγίῳ ποθὲν τοῖς ἐξ ἀποστασίας ἐπ' αὐτῳ πλαγιάζουσι, καὶ τὴν ἀναδενδράδα ταύτην αὐτάνασσαν, τὴν τῆς μεγίστης αὐτοκρατορίας ἰθαγενῆ καὶ κοσμητεῖραν καὶ αὐτόχθονα, δι' ἣν ἡ πόλις αὕτη τοῦ κράτους καὶ τῆς κρατούσης πόλις ἐπωνόμασται σήμερον, καὶ ὅπερ ἦν τῇ πόλει περίθετόν τι πρῴην κατὰ τρόπον καὶ περιδεσμητόν, νῦν ὑπ' αὐτῆς καὶ...συμφυὲς ἀπέσχε καὶ ἔμφυλον. καί θαυμασία τις συνδρομὴ διὰ προνοίας ἐνταυθοῖ συνελήλυθεν, οὔτε τήν βασιλίδα πόλιν καί προκαθεζομένην τῶν πόλεων ἄλλης ἀνάσσης ἔδει ποτὲ μητέρα γενήσεσθαι ὅτι μή μόνην ταύτην προαγαγεῖν τὴν τῆς ἀνακτορίας εὐπρέπειαν, οὔτε δὴ ταύτην τὴν ὥσπερ ἐκ τοῦ κράτους οὕτω κἀκ τῶν χαρίτων πανταχῆ βασιλεύουσαν ἐξ ἀλλοτρίας πόλεως ἀνασχεῖν, ὅτι μή ταύτης μόνον· ἢ δι' αὐτὴν τὴν ἐξ αὐτῆς κρατοῦσαν αὐτῆς τοῦ κράτους πόλις λέγοιτο κυριώτατα. καθάπερ οὖν Ἑλλήνων λόγος, σεμνυνογορῶν τὴν θεωνυμουμένην παρ' αὐτοῖς Ἀθηνᾶν τὴν τῆς φρονήσεως πρώταρχον, ἐπεὶ μὴ χῶρον εἶχεν εὑρεῖν πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνης πρόβλησιν ἀξιώτερον ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς φησὶν αὐτὴν προελθεῖν τοῦ παρ' ἐκείνοις πρώτου θεοῦ, οὕτω γε ταύτην τὴν ἀτεχνῶς αὐτέλλογον σύνεσιν ἡ φυσις εὐφυῶς ἐτυπώσατο, καὶ ὡς μὴ ἀλλοθεν ἐχρῆν τηλίκον ὑπερτεῖλαι καλόν, ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς προάγει ταύτης τῶν πόλεων. οὕτω τερπνὸν ἰθαγενὲς ὡς ἔφαμεν εὐγενὲς ἀπέλαβον τὰ τῆδε βασίλεια, καὶ ὁ τῆς Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκρατορίας θρόνος ἐξ ἐμφύλου σήμερον καταλάμπεται.

6. Εἰρήκαμεν ταῦτα μικρὰ τὸ μῆκος τε διαφεύγοντες καὶ λέγοντες τὰ φήμης τε καὶ λόγου προσάξια. ἀλλ' οὖ γε χάριν εἰρήκαμεν, ταύτης τοι,

fol. 248 γενεῆς καὶ αὐτοκρατοροῦντος αἵματος ἀγαθοῦ ὁ πατριάρχης κοινωνεῖν συγγιγνώσκεται, ἐκ τοσοῦδε περικλύτου κατάρχεται, καὶ πατριώτης τηλικούτοις ἅμα καὶ ἔμφυλος, καὶ φοῖνιξ ἀγλαὸς καὶ ὑψίστομος βασιλικῷ βαπτόμενος φοινικῷ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἤδη πᾶσαν ἐπύκασε. καὶ ὅ περὶ τῆς παλαιᾶς ἐκείνης ἱστορήθη σκηνῆς, ὅτιπερ ἐρυθροῖς ἐσκέπετο δέρμασιν, ἡ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐς δεῦρο νέα κάλλιον ἔσχηκε, ἠρυθρωδανωμένῳ τούτῳ καί κεχιονωμένῳ τῷ δέρματι ἐξ εὐγενείας ἅμα καὶ ἁγιότητος καλυψαμένη τὰ φερέσβια πρόσωπα.

7. Ἀλλὰ τὴν ἄλλην πρόπασαν ἀγωγὴν καθ' ἣν ἀνέβαινεν ἐκτρεφόμενος ὡς ἀξιολογοῦσαν τῇ εὐγενεῖ γενέσει προσίστησι· τοῖς εὐγενέσι γὰρ γυμνάζεται τῶν ἐπιστημῶν καὶ τοῖς ἑλλόγοις πᾶσιν ἐπιτηδεύμασι, γραμματισμοῦ δὴ τοῦ στοιχειώδους πρῶτον λαβόμενος καθάπερ κέντρου τινὸς ἀρχικοῦ καὶ γραμμικοῦ διαστήματος, τόν κύκλον ὅλον ἐπὶ τούτῳ κυκλογραφεῖ τῆς ἐγκυκλίου πάσης παιδεύσεως· οὐ τοῦτον μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῳ τὸν ἐπίκυκλον καὶ ἐπικύκλους ἅμα ὅτι πολλοὺς ἐκ ῥητορείας, ἐκ φιλοσοφίας, ἐκ

διαλεκτικῆς, καὶ εἴ τι δυσπειστέον ταῖς μαθηματικαῖς ὑποθέσεσι, δι' ἐπικύκλιον φέρεσθαι λεγούσαις τὸ τῆς ἡμέρας ὅμμα τόν ἥλιον. ἀλλά τὸν πατριάρχην πολύφωτον λογισμὸν οἱ ἀπό μαθημάτων εἶχον πάντες ἐπίκυκλοι. καί ἦν αὐτίκα οὗτος ὁ λογισμός ἀκτινοβόλος ἥλιος καί παράδοξος. ὡς γοῦν εἰς τήν αἴσθησιν οὑτοσί τὸν ζωηφόρον κύκλον ἐν οὐρανῷ ἐπιπορευόμενος τὸ ἔτος πᾶν ἐτέλεσέ τε καί περιεκύκλησεν, ἀνάπαλιν ὁ φωτοφόρος οὗτος πάμμεγας νοῦς τὸ συνεχὲς τῆς ἡλικίας ἔτος διαμετρῶν τά κύκλα πάντα τηνικάδε κυκλοδρομεῖ τῆς λογιότητος καὶ τὰς ἑλικας οἷον μεθόδους λέγω ῥητορικῆς καὶ τῆς ἐν λόγοις πιθανότητος στρέμματα καί ἰσοστρόφου τούτοις διαλεξεως ἑλιγμούς, φιλοσοφίαν τε τὴν δυσέλικτον ὀπόσην τε Περίπατος ὁ γυμναστικὸς καὶ ἡ περίθρυλλος Ἀκαδημία καὶ ἡ τεχνητὴ Στοά καὶ εὐμήχανος πανποδαπὴν ἐστήσαντο καὶ δυσέντευκτον, ὁποῖον ἴχνος ἄλλο ῥᾴον ἐπεπορεύσατο. ἔστι μὲν ἐκείνη κατὰ τὸν παρ' ἐκείνοις λόγον ὑπερκειμένη ἐπιστημῶν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐξηρημένην παντοστεφῆ μιμεῖται σφαῖραν ταύτην καὶ παντοδέγμονα· ὡς γοῦν αὕτη πρὸς ἀντιθέτους δύο μοίρας διχάζεται, καὶ εἰς διττὰ ἡμίτομα τέμνεται, τὸ ὑπερκείμενον ἐκφανὲς καὶ τὸ ὑπόγειόν τε καὶ δεδυκός, ἐπίσης φιλοσοφία ὑπέρκειται πρὸς θειότερα καί ὑποκαταδύεται πρὸς ἀνθρώπινα καὶ δὴ διτταῖς μερίσι διαλαμβάνεται· ἥ γαρ τοῖς ὑψηλοῖς καί θεωρητικοῖς συνεπαίρεται, ἥ τοῖς ἀνθρωπικοῖς καὶ τῆδε ταραττομένοις συγκαταφέρεται. ἐνταῦθα δὴ καθάπερ ὁ λόγος οἷδε τὴν ἀστραπήν, ἐκ νεφελώδους ἀλλομένην μετεώρου συγκρίματος, ὁμοῦ καὶ γαῖαν καταλάμπειν αὐτήν, καὶ τοῦ ὑπερκειμένου διὰ τὸ πάνυ τάχος μὴ λείπεσθαι, τὸν ἴσον τρόπον ἡ τοῦ μεγάλου διάνοια καὶ ἀμφοτέροις ὁμοῦ τοῖς τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἐπεφάειν μέρεσι, καὶ θεωρητικῆς μεθόδου ἅμα δραττομένη καὶ πρακτικῆς, καὶ ὑψηλῆς μερίδος καὶ τῆς ἐλάττονος. συνέβαινε δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τηνικάδε πανάριστον, καθάπερ τὸ ἡμεροφαὲς καὶ πάλιν ἄστρον τοῦτο καὶ πανδερκὲς συμφέρεται μὲν καὶ τῇ κωφήσει

fol. 248v τῆς ἐξωτέρας σφαίρας τῇ ἐφημερωῇ, καθ' ἣν καί ἀνατέλλειν εἰώθεν ἑκάστη καὶ δύεσθαι, ἀντικινεῖται δὲ κίνησιν ἑτέραν ἀντίδρομον, οἰκειακὴν μὲν ταύτην ἀλλ' ἀντιθετικὴν καθ' ἣν ἐναυτίζει φορούμενος, οὕτω καὶ ὁ τοῦ πατριάρχου ἥλιος λογισμὸς τῇ τῆς ἐκτὸς φιλοσοφίας περιφορᾷ κατὰ παιδευτικὸν συνεπερχόμενος ἔρωτα, τὴν θεογραφικὴν ἑτέρωθεν ἀντεφέρετο, οἰκειοτέραν ταύτην καὶ ἐσωτερικὴν καὶ διὰ τὸ ἐπὶ πολλοῖς ἀντίπαλον ἀντιστρέφουσαν καί τηλικούτῳ μᾶλλον λογισμῷ φωσφόρῳ προσήκουσαν, τοσούτοις ἐπανάγεται τοῖς καλοῖς καί οὕτω πάντοθεν προηυγένισται ἐκ διανοίας εκ σώματος, Ἑρμῆς μετὰ θεογραφίας ὁ λόγιος.

8. Ὢ πῶς τὸν ἑρμηνέα λόγον ἑρμηνεύσω λαμπρῶς; προὐκάθητο γὰρ αὐτίκα κοινὸς φιλοσοφίας ὁμοῦ καὶ σοφιστείας διδάσκαλος. Ὁμήρου πάντως γλώττης ἐχρῆν, ἵνα καθάπερ Ἑρμῆν ἐκεῖνον τὸν

Ἑλλήνιον ἐρραψώδησε, καὶ τὴν χρυσέαν ῥάβδον τὴν θελκτικήν τε καὶ ἀπεγερτικήν, οὕτω καὶ νῦν τὸν ἑρμηνέα τοῦτον τὸν ἐμὸν διεσκεύασε, καὶ ῥάβδον εἶπεν Ἑρμαικὴν τὴν τεραστίαν τοῦ πατριάρχου μέθοδον ἑρμηνευτικήν, χρυσέαν ὄντως καὶ στίλβουσαν ἐξ εὐκρινείας λέγω καὶ καθαρότητος καὶ ἀσαφείας μελαντηρᾶς ψυχροῦ παντὸς ἰοῦ ἀνεπίδεκτον. ἦ τοίνυν ἐνταυθοῖ παρεῖναι πάλιν ἔδει τὸν ποιητήν, ἦ σὺ τοιοῦδε, χρυσόρραπι, διὰ τῆς γλώττης μόνης τῆς σῆς τὸ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις σὴν ἐκφράζειν ὠφελες σύνεσιν, ἵνα καθάπερ σοφιστὴς ὑπῆρχες τηνικάδε μονώτατος, οὕτω καὶ νῦν ἐτύγχανες συγγραφεὺς τῆς σῆς σοφιστικῆς ἀξιόχρεως.

9. Διττοῦ δὲ ὄντος τοῦ λόγου παντὸς, ἀγράφου δηλαδὴ καὶ γραπτοῦ, ἐκείνου μὲν καθ' ὃν ἑρμηνεύειν ἐκ προφορᾶς ἡ φύσις τὰς ἐννοίας ἀπέδωκε, τοῦ δὲ καθ' ὃν καὶ ταῖς ἐπὶ τῶν ἐδαφίων ξυσμαῖς ἐκείνας ἐντυποῦν καὶ προτίθεσθαι, ὁ ἱεράρχης τηνικαῦτα καὶ ἐπ' ἀμφοῖν τὸ κράτος προφανῶς ἀνεδήσατο, καὶ προσελάλει μετὰ σαφηνείας τοῖς φοιτηταῖς, καὶ μετὰ προσηνοῦς γλυκύτητος ἀνεγράφετο, καὶ δύο ταῦτα διετίθει καὶ ἀγαθὰ τὸν ἀγράφον τε φθόγγον ἀριστεύων καὶ τὸν ἐπίγραπτον. καὶ ἦν ὁ μέγας μέλισσα φιλεργὸς κηρὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ μέλι συμπλάττουσα, κηρὸν μαθητιώσαις ἀκοαῖς ἐκ: μόνης προφορᾶς ἐμπλαττόμενον, μέλι τὰς σοφιστικὰς συγγραφὰς ταῖς βίβλοις ὥσπερ σύμβλοις ἀποτιθέμενον. τοιαύτην ἐπὶ τούτῳ τοῦ λόγου φύσιν ἔγνωμεν καθαράν, ἐξ ἀκηράτων πλαττομένην ἀνθῶν κηρόεσσαν μελιτόεσσαν, μέσην καθύγρου τε καὶ σκληροῦ, καὶ μεταξυλλαβοῦσαν ἀντιτυπεῖ καὶ μαλθάσσοντι καὶ τὰς ἐπισφαλεῖς ἀκρότητας φεύγουσαν, ὁποία πάντως εἶναι καὶ ἡ ἀρίστη τῆς καρδίας πλάσις ἐν εὐφυέσι πεφιλοσόφηται, μήτε καθάπαξ ἔνυγρος καὶ ῥυτή, ὡς μὴ τοὺς τύπους ῥέοντας ἀφανίζῃ τοὺς μνημονικοὺς κατὰ τὰ ἐφ' ὑδάτων γραφόμενα, μήτε δυσέντευκτος παντάπασι καὶ σκληρὰ ὡς μὴ τοῖς τύποις τούτοις μένῃ/

fol. 249 πάλιν δυστύπωτος. τοιοῦτον τὸν ἐκ προφερομένου λόγου κηρὸν ἀπέσχον . . . . . αι τοιούτου τοῦ ἐγγράφου μέλιτος τετρυχήκαμεν.

10. Ἀλλ' εἰ τὸ ζῶον τοῦτο τὸ φίλεργον καὶ φυσίσοφον εὐφραίνει τοῖς οἰκείοις πόνοις καὶ βασιλεῖς, ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκ τῆς γραφῆς μαρτύρεται Σολομῶν μελίσσης πόνους καὶ βασιλεῦσι γίνεσθαι προσοιστούς. ἐμοὶ δ' ὁ λόγος μακαρίστους ἐκείνους καὶ πατριάρχας φαίη πάντως καὶ αὐτοκράτορας, οἳ τῶν τοῦ ἱεράρχου παρ' αὐτοῖς σοφιστεύοντος καὶ πάνυ γλυκερῶν παραπέλαυσαν. ὄφελον, γλυκύτατε συγγραφεῦ, ἀπὸ τῶν σύμβλων παραυτίκα τῶν σῶν τῇ σοφιστείᾳ ταύτῃ σήμερον παρεκέχυτο, ὡς ἐξ ὑπερχειλῶν συρίγγων τινῶν, εἰς τὰς ὠδὶ κενὰς τοῦ λόγου μοι σύριγγας. οὕτω γὰρ ἂν τοῖς σοῖς μὲν τὰ περὶ σοῦ κατήρτοντο γράμματα, ὁ πευστικὸς δὲ τῆς τῶν ἀκροωμένων διανοίας σωλὴν ὑπήντα τοῖς ἐμοῖς γλυκαινόμενος. αἰσθάνομαι δὴ ὅτιπερ ἐκ παρελήλυθότων καλῶν τὰ ἐνεστῶτα λογογραφῶ, καὶ ὥσπερ ἐκ

τῆς περιμέτρου τὸ χωρίον καθιστορῶ, καὶ ἐκ τῶν πορρωτέρω πάνυ ἀρχῶν τὰ σήμερον λαμπρὰ συλλογίζομαι, χρεὼν ἐκ τῶν προσεχεστέρων μᾶλλον καὶ προσεστώτων καὶ ὡς εἰπεῖν ἀμέσων τὰς ἀποδείξεις ἄριστα συμπεραίνεσθαι· τοιαύτην γὰρ τὴν ἀληθῶς ἀποδεικτικὴν ὁ τῆς φιλοσοφίας λόγος ἀπέδειξεν.

11. Ἀλλ' ὑφορῶμαι μήπως φανείην τὴν ἐξεληλυθυῖαν ἐγκαιρίαν παραδικεῖν, εἴπερ ἐπιζυγώσω ταύτῃ τῆς ῥητορικῆς χειλέων τὸ δίθυρον, πλὴν ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο μόνον προσθεὶς ἐπὶ τὰ ἐνεστῶτα καὶ δῆτα τρέφομαι· καθάπερ γὰρ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην πᾶσαν εὐετηρίαν οὐ νεωστὶ ὁ πατριάρχης γέγονεν εὐκλεής, ἀλλ' ἐκ προγονικῆς εὐδαιμονίας οὕτως εἶχε καὶ γενικῆς καὶ ἐκ φυλετικῆς ἀρχῆθεν μεγαλειότητος, οὕτως οὐδ' ἐκ τῆς προεδρίας ταύτης μονοειδῶς τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ σήμερον πεφανέρωται, οὐδ' ὡς ἐξ ὑπογυίου πρόχειρος ἐσχεδίασται κατὰ τοὺς ἐξ ἀδήλων δήλους γωμένους ποθέν, καὶ ἐξ ἀφανεστέρων αἱρομένους εἰς ἐπιφάνειαν, ὥσπερ ἤν μῆθος πλάττει τινά καὶ τοῦτ' ἐκεῖνο Δῆλον ὀνοματοθετεῖ, διὰ τὸ ἐξ ἀδήλου ὡς φασιν ἔκδηλον, ἀλλὰ πυκναῖς πνευματικαῖς ἐνδιτρίψας ταῖς ἐπαρχίαις πρότερον καὶ ταῖς προτιμαῖς, οὕτω καὶ τῇ ἱεραρχίας κορωνίδι ταύτῃ ἐπιτετέλεσται. οὐ γάρ θαυμάζω πάνυ τοὺς διαττοντας, ἡνίκα τις αἰφνηδὸν ἐξαπτομένη ξηροτάτη θυμίασις ἐς τὸν ὑπέρτερον ἀέρα διάλλεται καὶ διατρέχει πρός ἰθυτένειαν. ξυμβαίνει γὰρ ὀξέως τούτους μεταλαβεῖν, καὶ συνδραμεῖν τῷ τρόπῳ τῆς ἐκείνων γονεύσεως τὴν ἐξ ἀφανισμοῦ τελευτήν, καὶ τῷ τῆς ὑπεκκαύσεως ταχῳ ταχεῖαν ἀντεπεξελθεῖν τὴν ἀπόσβεσιν. θαυμάζει τὴν σελήνην ὁ λόγος, πῶς κατ' εὐταξίαν αὐξομένη τινὰ καὶ κατὰ φυσικὴν ἐπακολούθησιν εὐοδον καὶ ἐκ προσαγωγῆς ἐμπιπλωμένη φωτός, τέλος πλησιφαὴς ἔστηκε καὶ πλησίκυκλος. ὡς δὲ καὶ ἥλιος ἔχει τὸ τῆς ἡμέρας τοῦτο λευκοφεγγές καί παμφαέστατον κάτοπτρον·/

fol. 249v προυπαυγάζει . . . . . εἰ τὰς βολίδας ἐωθινὰς ἀμβλύτερον ἀκτινοβολεῖ· παραβαίνει πλέον μεσημβριάζων, ὑπεranίσταται καὶ οὕτω μέσος ὑπεραρθείς, θερμότερος ἡμῖν ὑπέρκειται καί χρυσοειδέστατος αὐτῆ τῶν φωστήρων ἡ εὐταξία, τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ὁ ἐμὸς καὶ μέγας φωστὴρ ὑπὸ τοῦ θείου πνεύματος φέρεται· γίνονται τούτῳ τὰ τῆς μεγίστης ταύτης ἀρχῆς προτέλεια πλείονα διὰ πασῶν ἐλθόντι βαθμίδων τῶν ἐνταῦθα πνευματικῶν, ὥσπερ ἡνίκα τις τὰ τῆς τελείας ἐπιστήμης προμελετᾷ ἐν προλαβοῦσι πλείοσι τοῖς προμελετήμασι, καὶ χρηματίζει πρῶτον μεγάλη συντέλεια τῇ ἐνταυθοῖ συγκλήτῳ τῇ ἱερᾷ, καὶ χειλος τῆς συνόδου τὶ πυρω . . . . . ου προδείκνυται, καὶ τέλος, ὥσπερ ἐπ' ἐσχάτων ὁ Ἰησοῦς. οὕτω καὶ οὗτος ἀναδεικνύεται ὁ τῆς Τριάδος δύσμαχος πρόμαχος καὶ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου μέγας κῆρυξ καὶ πρόβολος.

12. Ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου λόγος ἀμελησάτω καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς Τριάδος σπουδάσματα, τοῖς δὲ τοῦ ἤθους προσδιατρίψωμεν· διττὰς

ἡμῖν τὰς ἀρετὰς τοῦ ἤθους ὁ λόγος ἐγνώρισε, τὰς μὲν εἰς μόνον αὐτὸν περιεστώσας τὸν πράττοντα τὰς δὲ περωευούσας ἐξ ἐκείνου πρός ἕτερον, οἷον ἐγκράτειαν καὶ τόλμαν καὶ εὐψυχίαν τοῦ ἐνεργοῦντος μόνου φασὶ καθότι τούτῳ μόνῳ συνέβαλλον, δικαιοσύνην δὲ καὶ μετάδοσιν ταῦτα τὰ τρός ἄλλους καλὰ παρόσον ἄλλους συντετελέκασιν ἐφ' ὅσοις ἀπέβησαν. τὴν δὴ τοιαύτην μετάδοσιν ὁ τῆς ἐκτὸς μὲν σοφίας λόγος ὠνόμασεν ἐλευθεριότητα, ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς δὲ θειογφαφικὸς ἑτερογλωττεῖ καὶ οἷα τις ἑτερόγλωττος ἐλεημοσύνην καλεῖ. τοῦτο προυποθέντες οἷον ἀξίωμα κοινῶς τοῖς ἅπασω γωωσκόμενον, ἐκεῖνο προθεωρήσομεν· ἀνίσως ἡ τοῦ βίου περιφορὰ τὰς χεῖρας ἀμφοτέρας αὐτοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἴωθε τείνεσθαι, τοῖς μὲν προμηκεστάτην τὴν οἰκείαν δίδωσι δεξιάν, καὶ δώροις περιττοῖς δαψιλεύεται, ἑτέροις ἐπιδείκνυσι τὴν λαιάν, καὶ ταύτην ἄντικρυς μεθ' ὑποστολῆς καὶ οἷον ὑποκατέχουσα„καὶ δόσεσι βραχείαις ἢ τυχὸν οὐδ' αὐταῖς ἐκείνους ἀντιπαρέρχεται. ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ ἐναλλάττει τὰς παλάμας ἡ ἀνθρωποκόμος αὕτη ἐκ μετακομιδῆς, καὶ τοῖς προτοῦ δεξιουμένοις ἔστηκεν ἐπαρίστερος, καὶ γίνεται κατὰ τὴν παρ' Ἡσιόδῳ λεγομένην ἡμέραν τῷ ποιητῇ ἑτέροις εὔστοργος μήτηρ, ἑτέροις ἐπιλήσμων τις μητρυιᾶ. γενόμενος ἐνταῦθα πάλω ἐπανάγω πρὸς τὴν ἀρχήν. ἐγκράτειαν ὁ πατριάρχης καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τὰ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τῷ πράττοντι συστελλόμενα, ἃ καὶ μήπω προεδρεύων ἐκ παιδὸς ἐφυλάξατο, ἰδιώτερον τυγχάνειω ἔγνω καλόν, καὶ ᾧ μονῆρες τὸ χρῆμα τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ ἄκουον ἰδιάζεται, τὸν πρόεδρον δέ, καθόσον τοῦθ' ὅπερ ἔστιν αὐτὸς ἑτέρων εἶναι πεφιλοσόφηται, τοῖς πρός τι ἄλλο ἐπιτρέπεω μᾶλλον χρῆναι καλῶς. ἐντεῦθεν ἐπιτείνει τὸ φίλοικτον./

fol. 250 13. . . . . ἔστιλψεν ἀμφιέσμασω, οὐδεν ἐκεῖ τὸ καπνηρὸν καὶ μέλαν καὶ ἀσαφές . . . . . τωὸς ἀκαίρου παρατροπῆς, ὑφ' ὧν ἡ τοῦ νοὸς συγχέεται διαφάνεια, οὐδεὶς τῶν ὀνομάτων ἄνους ἐκτραχυσμός, οὐδέ τις ἄλογος παρασύνθεσις, οὐδὲ σχημάτων σύνοδος ἀνεπιμανής, ἐξ ὧν ἑλληνισμὸς ὁμοῦ καὶ βαρβαρισμὸς ἀλλήλοις ὁμοτίμως ἐπεξέρχονται, καὶ πέφυκεν ἐντεῦθεν ἡ σύντηξις καὶ τὰ ἐν λόγοις ὡς ἐπίμικτα τέρατα. ἀλλ' οὐ τοιοῦτον ἔσχηκεν οὐδὲν ἀτερπὲς ὁ τῶν τιμιωτέρων οὗτος ὑπερίστωρ γραμματισμῶν, ὁ τῆς ἀσόφου σοφιστείας διδάσκαλος, τὸ εὐγενες [τῆς] καὶ εὐφυές τῆς παναρίστης κράσεως πρόβλημα, ὁ ἐπὶ φιλοσόφοις ἔνδοξος σοφιστὴς καὶ ἐπὶ σοφισταῖς ὑφηλόφωνος, οὗ καὶ τὸ ἦθος τοῦτο τὸ προσενῶπιον ἀξιωματικόν τε ἅμα καὶ χαρίεν. καί συν μεγέθει ⟨συμμιγνύει⟩ τό ταπεωὸν καὶ ἱλαρύνεται σεμνυνόμενος, ὥστε καὶ ὅπερ οἱ ταῖς συνθέτοις διαιτήσαντες κράσεσι μετὰ φιλοσοφίας ἐπισημήνατο, ὁμοίους γίνεσθαι τοὺς λόγους τοῖς ἤθεσι, καὶ τοὺς τραχεῖς ἐνταῦθα καὶ τοὺς πραεῖς ἐναντιολογεῖω, ὡς μεταλήψεως τραχύνοντας τοῖς λόγοις εἴτε πραῦνοντας, τοῦτ' ἐκφανῶς τῷ ἱεράρχῃ τούτῳ ἐνδειγματίζεσθαι,

καὶ τὸ ἐν τοῖς βλεφάροις ἄριστον σύμμικτον ἡδύτατα προτυπωθὲν καὶ σεμνότατα ἀξιωματικὴν ὁμοῦ καὶ γλυκεῖαν ἀποτελέσαι τούτῳ τὴν συγγραφήν. εἰ βούλει δὲ καθὰ τὸν ἥλιον ἐξιστόρησαν οἱ ἐν ἡλίοις τεθραμμένοι πολλοῖς, ὡς ἄρα καυματίας μὲν ἀνίσχων καί ἀστιλπνος συγχύσεις ἐν ἀέρι μεμήνυκε καὶ θυελλώδη πνεύματα μέλλοντα, λαμπρὸς δὲ αὖθις ἀναβαίνων, καὶ ἅμα ἐς θερμότητα μέτριος καὶ ἐπικεραννὺς λαμπρότητι τὸ μὴ καυστικόν, εὐδιεινὴν κατάστασιν ἐμαντεύσατο, οὕτω τὸ ἡλιῶδες ἦθος τοῦτο καὶ μέτριον καὶ ἀποστίλβον ἀπὸ μεγαλειότητος καὶ μὴ συγκαῖον ἐκ μετριότητος εὐδιενοὺς καὶ ἀσυγχύτους αὐτῷ τὰς ἐν λόγοις καταστάσεις εἰργάσατο.

14. Ἀλλ' εἰ τὰ προφανῆ τοῦ λόγου καὶ τὰ σωματικὰ τοσούτως ἡμῖν δεδράκασι θαυμασμόν, ὁπόσον θαῦμα ἐκ τῆς τοῦ λόγου ψυχῆς, ἐκ τῶν ταύτης δυνάμεων ἔννοιαν εἶπον καὶ μέθοδον, ψυχὴν καὶ κίνησιν ψυχικήν. βούλεται μὲν ὁ λόγος βραχύ τι τῆς πολυσχιδοῦς ἐκεῖ ἐννοίας διαλαβών, ὡς ἐκ τῆς ὠας ὑποδεῖξαι τὸ ὕφασμα. ὄφιν ἡ ἱστορία οἵδε τινὰ διπρόσωπον δηρίον καὶ ἀμφικέφαλον· ἀμφίσβαινα τῷ ζώῳ κλῆσις ἐκ μορφῆς, παρόσον ἐνὶ μέν διακονεῖται ὁλκῷ ἀλλ' ἔνθα τε καὶ ἔνθα διτταῖς ἀμφεπνεύει ταῖς κεφαλαῖς. τοιοῦτος ἡ ὑπερηφανία θὴρ ἀτεχνῶς· εἷς γὰρ αὐτὴ καὶ ὀφεώδης οὖσα ὁλκός, φθόνῳ μέν ἔνθα μιᾷ κεφαλῇ, τῇ δέ μνησικακίᾳ ἐτέρωθεν ἑτέρᾳ κεφαλῇ κεκορύφωται, καὶ ὑπὸ ταύταις ἐκείνη ταῖς κεφαλαῖς ἀμφίσβαινά τίς ἔστιν ἀμφίμαχος. φιλεῖ γὰρ τῶν πνευμάτων αἰρουμένη κρατεῖν διχόθεν ἀντιτείνειν τὰ δάκνοντα, εἰ μὲν τῷ φθονῳ συντελέσειεν ἀγαπᾶν, εἰ δ' οὖν ὡς ἀπὸ λόχου μνησικακεῖν. σπεῖρα τις ἐκείνη δικέφαλος, κακίας ῥίζα διστέλεχος. ταύτην ὁ μέγας τὴν σπείραν καὶ τὰς διττὰς μιᾷ τοῦ λόγου πληγῇ ἐκεῖ συνέκοψε κεφαλάς. καὶ ἦν ὁ λόγος ξίφος ἀμφίστομον/

fol. 250v καί παραδειγματικῶς τηνικαῦτα τὸν θῆρα λογογραφῶν καὶ προφανῶς ὁ τοῦ Χριστοῦ μαθητὴς τῶν ὄφεων ἐπάνω τούτων πατεῖ, καὶ συμβουλεύει τοῖς οἰκείοις ἡμῖν συνεπεμβαίνειν ταύταις ταῖς κεφαλαῖς. αὐτὸς τὸν θῆρα τοῦτον συνέτριβεν, ἡμᾶς δ' ἐπώτρυνεν ἐκεῖνον συναναιρεῖν, ὡς ὅτε τις ἀντίξουν ξύλον ἀνὴρ ἐκεῖνο μὲν ἐξάρχων ἐν στερεῷ τρυπάνῳ μετέρχεται, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι τοῖς ἰμάσι κάτωθεν ὑποσείουσι. φέρε παντοδαπαῖς ταῖς ἐκ τῶν λόγων χροιαῖς ἀνατυπώσω ταύτην τὴν μέθοδον. φιλοσοφεῖται τι καὶ τοῦτο καινόν, ἀνθρώπινόν τι πτύσμα τοῖς στόμασιν τῶν ὄφεων ἐγχυθέν, νεκροῦν ἐκ μόνης ταύτης ἐγχύσεως· ἀλλ' ἦν ὁ πατριάρχης [εὐλὶς] ἐμπτύων ἐκ χειλέων τοῖσδε τοῖς ὄφεσι τοιοῦτο· ἀπο γλώττης ἔλλογον ἐμπτυσμὸν τοῖς ἰοβόλοις ἐπεμψε στόμασιν. ἀναστηλοῖ τὸν δράκοντα Μωυσῆς καὶ θεατρίζει τὸν δάκνοντα καὶ οἱ ἐμβλέποντες ῥύονται, ὁ δὲ τὸν τῆς κακίας μὲν ποικίλον ἐκεῖνον ὄφιν μᾶλλον εἰς τὴν γῆν κατασπᾷ, ἀνίστασθαι δὲ παρέχει μόνην ἐν δέλτοις τὴν συγγραφήν. ὡς τοῖς ὁιστοδόκαις τοὺς θηροφόντας οἴδαμεν ὁιστούς, οὕτω τὸ βέλος ὧδε

τοῦ ἐν πνεύματι δυνατοῦ. ἀνοίγουσι τό στόμα καὶ οἱ δράκοντες καὶ ἐμφυσῶσι θανατηρὸν καὶ συνερρύη νέκρωσις ἀσθμασιν· ἀλλ' ην ἡ τοῦ μεγάλου πνεῦσις ἐκείνη κρείττων ἀντίπνοια καὶ δρακοντώδει τῆς κακίας ὀλκῷ τὸν θάνατον ὀξὺν ἀντιπνέουσα, καὶ τοῖς ἐκ τούτου φαρμαχθεῖσι τυχὸν πνοήν ὡς ἐκ ζωγρείας πλείω συνάγουσα. ἐκεῖνο δὲ καὶ πάνυ κομψὸν ὅτι καθάπερ ὁ τῆς ἐκκλησίας νόμος ἐτήσιον το ἔργον τοῦτο ζητεῖ. οὕτως ὁ πατριάρχης ἐτήσιος κατὰ τῶν κεφαλαίων τῆς κακίας ἔρχεται συγγραφεύς. οὐ γὰρ τὰ εἰωθότα ταῦτα λαλεῖ περὶ νηστείας μόνα ἢ τυχὸν προσευχῆς ἀλλ' ὅσον κυριώτερον συνεπίσταται. καὶ ἄγγελος ὁ λόγος οὗτος Θεοῦ ἐρχόμενος ἐν καιρῷ, καὶ οὐδὲ κολυμβήθραν συνταρράττων προβατικήν ἀλλὰ συντάττων μᾶλλον ἐξ ἀγάπης τὰ πρόβατα, καὶ τῆς πνευματικῆς ἑνώσεως συναρμολογῶν, καὶ οὐ τον δεῖνα ἢ τὸν δεῖνα ὑφιάζων πρώτως ἐμβαίνοντα, ἀλλὰ καθόλου, τοὺς περιττοὺς καὶ ὅσοις ἐς ψυχὴν τὰ ὦτα συντέτρηται, καὶ οὐ ἁπλῶς ἀέρα παίων τῇ προφορᾷ ἀλλὰ ψυχαῖς ἐνδύνων ὅλαις ἀνθρωπικαῖς κἀκεῖνα σπεύδων ἔνθεν ἀπορριζοῦν ὁποῖα παραδείσῳ τούτῳ λυμαίνεται, καθὰ τὴν κατορωρυγμένην καὶ βιαίαν ἄγρωστιν γεωργοὶ μακέλλαις ἢ δικέλλαις συνεχῶς ὑποτέμνοντες τέλος ἐκεῖθεν συνεκσπῶσι προσθέλυμνον. τὰ μὲν τοῦ ἤθους ὧδε συγγέγραπται· καὶ παρεῷ τὰ πολλὰ ποσῷ διωρισμένον συνεχεῖ ποσῷ συναντιμετρῶν τὴν διατετμημένην συλλαβαῖς λαλιὰν τῷ συναφεῖ τοῦ χρόνου τούτῳ ποσῷ· ἔν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν ἀγράφων πράξεων συλλαβὼν κἀκ τῶν ἐγγράφων ἄλλο συμβουλιῶν, ὡς ἐκ δυεῖν αὐτίκα προτάσεων περαίνω τὸ τοῦ λόγου συμπέρασμα, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ μεταξὺ τοῖς βουλομένοις παρεμβεβλήσθωσαν.

15. Ἀρχέται δὲ ὁ λόγος ἐνθένδε ἤδη τῆς θεωρίας καὶ ὁ ὑπὲρ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἀγών· ὁποῖον τοῦτον ἆθλον ὁ καλλίνικος διαθλεῖ καὶ φθάσας ἐκ προτέρου διήθληκε. καίτοιγε πάλω ἀπὸ γλώττης ἐπὶ γλῶτταν μεταχωρῶ, τῆς κατηχητηρίου δηλαδὴ λαλιᾶς ἐπὶ τὰς θεολογικὰς τοῦ ἱεράρχου φωνάς. λέγεται μὲν καὶ ἡ ἀμφιτρυφῶσα λόγοις αὐτη τέχνη/

fol. 251 ἀμφοτερόγλωττος, παρόσον ἔνθα τε καὶ ἔνθα προνένευκε καὶ συνιστῶσα καὶ ἀντιτρέπουσα. ἔγνωσται δὲ καὶ ἡ τοῦ πατριάρχου γλῶσσα τρόπον κρείττονα διφυὴς καὶ ταῖς παιδευτηρίοις ἠχήσεσι καὶ ταῖς θεολογίαις ἐπιτυγχάνουσα, καὶ ὀφεώδεσι δικρόαις γλώτταῖς δυσδόξοις ἀντίμαχος· ἔχει τὰ Ἡσαίου λέγειν· ἔχει τὰ τοῦ Δαυίδ: Κύριος δίδωσί μοι γλῶτταν παιδείας ἠνίκα δεῖ τὸν λόγον ἐνηχῆσαι παιδευτικόν, τὸ στόμα μου λαλήσει σοφίαν ὁπότε χρή τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἀντειπεῖν, τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς σοφίαν τὴν ἐνυπόστατον μετὰ τῆς κατὰ νοῦν διανοητικῆς σοφίας τούτοις φιλοσοφῶν. ἐγὼ μὲν οἶμαι καὶ μέχρι τοῦδε παυσάμενος νομίζεσθαι γ' ἂν ἐξαρκεῖν τὴν ἐνδοξίαν ὅλην τῷ ἐνδόξῳ τούτῳ ἐνδείξασθαι· ἐν γὰρ τῶν τοῦ

μεγάλου καλῶν ἤρκεσεν ἂν ἑτέροις πρὸς κορωνίδα πρόπασαν κλεισμοῦ, ἀλλὰ γενοίμην ἂν ἐνταυθοῖ τῶν περὶ εὐσεβείας λόγων ἀνέραστος, ἂν μὴ βραχύ τι τούτοις προάγουσι καὶ εἰς τὸ πρόσω ἕλκουσι προεφέψωμαι, καὶ μᾶλλον ὡστε καὶ τὸ τῶν κακουργούντων γνώσεσθαι περιπόνηρον, καὶ τὸ τοῦ πατριάρχου ἔνθεν εὐμέθοδον. παρατετάχθω δὴ τῷ λόγῳ τουτὶ ἐκεῖθεν ἐκλαμβάνοντι τὴν κατάστασιν, ὡς ἀπόλοιτο ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ὁ τύφος, ὁ τυμπανίτης ὕδερος τῆς ψυχῆς, τὸ τῆς ἐπαινετῆς πυκνώσεως κένωμα, τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς κουφότητος. τοῦτο γεννᾶται μὲν ἐν μαλθακαῖς τε καὶ ἀπύκνοις φρεσίν, ὡς καὶ τοῖς μαλακοῖς τῶν ξύλων καὶ ἀερωδεστέροις τε καὶ σομφοῖς τοὺς σῆτας μᾶλλον οἶδαμεν ἐπιφύεσθαι. τρέφεται δὲ περιφρονήσει τε καὶ περιφορᾷ, ταῖς ἀσυντάκτοις ταύταις τροφαῖς. καὶ τὴν ἀπαιδευσίαν παιδεύεται, καὶ διεπιτηδεύει τὸ ἀνεπίτηδες, διατελεῖται δὲ τὸ ἀνήκοον, καὶ κατακούει μόνου τοῦ βούλεσθαι. οὐδὲν πρὸς οὐδ . . . . . παραφροσύνη καὶ διανοίας ἔννοσος ἔκστασις. φαρμάκοις γὰρ τυχὸν καὶ χρόνῳ μετέβαλλε τόδε, καί λόγοις ἔοικεν ἀφαρμάκευτον καὶ ἡλικί . . . . . ἐπανέδραμες μάλιστα. ὡς γοῦν ἐν ζώοις πολυτοκεῖν εἰώθει μᾶλλον τὰ ἀγενέστερα, οὕτω καί διανοίας ὄγκωσις ἀγεννὴς τὰ πάντα τῶν κακῶν ἀποτίκτουσα κατ' ἐπισύλληψίν τινα πονηρὰν καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ Θεοῦ γεγέννηκεν ἀλλοτριώσιν, καὶ συζυγέντα τύφος καὶ παράλογος ἔνστασις τὴν δυσδοξίαν προβάλλονται, ἣν ὁ τῆς ἐκκλησίας λόγος αἵρεσιν οἶδε καλεῖν, οἷον αὐθαίρετόν τινα πεισμονὴν καί πρόκρισιν ἄκριτον.

16. Τούτων ἀναταχθέντων ὠδὶ ἐκεῖνο πάνυ προστίθημι· τὴν πάρδαλιν ποικιλμός, ὁ κύβος τὴν κάμηλον, καὶ Ἰταλοὺς ὁ τύφος ἐγνώρισεν. οἴδατε τούτων τὸ ἐν ἔθνεσι σόβημα, καθάπερ ἐν τραχήλῳ προμηκυνομένων, οὕτω κἂν τῇ θεολογίᾳ πλέον ἔχειν εὐχόμενον. ἀλλ' ὡς ἡ φύσις ἀντενεγκοῦσα τῷ τύφῳ πάντως τὴν ταπείνωσιν ἀντετάξατο, οὕτως αὐτοῖς ὁ πατριάρχης ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος ὡς ἔοικεν ἐφυλάττετο. ἐναντιότης ζῶσα, ἔμπνουν ἀντίθετον, ἀντίγραμμα λαλητόν, τὸ τῆς ἄνω φορούσης ταπεινότητος ἵδρυμα, τὸ τῆς συγκαταβάσεως στηλογράμμα, ὁ κόκκος οὗτος ὁ εὐαγγελικός ὁ καί συντετμημένος πραύτητι καὶ πολυδύναμος πνεύματι, ἡ μάστιξ αὕτη τῶν ὠφρυωμένων ἡ λιγυρά, ἐπεὶ καὶ βοῶν ἐκεῖθεν ἐκ φύσεως πλευρὰ μεγεθύνεται καὶ ὑπὸ μαστίγος ἐντεῦθεν ὑπάγεται. πολὺ μὲν οὖν/

fol. 251v τῷ ἔθνει τούτῳ ἀντίθετον δυσγενὲς πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἡμετέρας εὐταξίας εὐγένειαν, καὶ ὡς πολλὰ μεταξὺ ὄρη τούτοις καί θάλασσα, ὑφ' ὅσον τόποις ἐξ ἡμῶν διατέμνεται, οὕτω γε πλείω τὰ ὡς αὐθέκαστα καὶ πάνυ αὐτόληπτα, δι' ὧν τοῖς ἡμετέροις λογισμοῖς διεχίζονται. ἐκεῖνο δε καὶ πάνυ τι αὐθαδες καὶ ἀστεργές τοῖς ἀληθέσι τῆς τριάδος προσκυνηταῖς τὰ πλείω μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐπιεικευόμεθα, ὡς ὅτε πνίγοντος ὕδατος οὐκ ἐπικαταπίνειν πλέον χρῆναι φαμέν, ἀλλ' οὐ τήν ἄρρητον

τοῦ Θείου πνεύματος ἐκπόρευσιν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς εἰς δύο τμήματα διατέμνομεν, ἐκ τοῦ πατρός τε ἅμα κἀκ τοῦ υἱοῦ τολμῶντες κατ' ἐκείνους λαλεῖν, οὐδ' ὥσπερ μὴ ἀρκοῦντος τοῦ μόνου πατρὸς καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἁπάντων εἰς τὴν προαγωγὴν τοῦ παρακλήτου πρεσβεύομεν, οὐδ' ἐκ δυάδος τὴν μονάδα προάγομεν καὶ τρόποις μὲν αὐτὸ φυσικοῖς καὶ τοῖς εἰκόσι λόγοις ἀνένδεκτον, οὐδὲ διττὰ γινώσκομεν αἴτια, ἀλλὰ πηγαίαν μίαν τὸν πατέρα φαμὲν καὶ δύο τοὺς ἐκ ταύτης θεοφυτεύτους βλαστούς καὶ τὴν ὁμόδοξον τριάδα συνάγομεν. καὶ τί μοι πρὸς ἐκείνους ἐκ πλειόνων ἐνίστασθαι, πλὴν ὅτι τοῖς ἑαυτῶν αὐτοὶ σοβήμασι κουφιζόμενοι παραποιεῖν τολμῶσι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, καὶ τῷ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἀκιβδήλῳ νομίσματι τὴν ἐκ παρεγγραφῶν χαράττειν ἐγκιβδηλότητα, καὶ ὅ φησιν ὁ μέγας Παῦλος Γαλάταις γράφων ἐντρεπτικῶς, μετέθεντο πρὸς ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον.

17. Οἱ μὲν οὖν τυφούμενοι τὴν βαθυτέραν Εὐρωπαίαν Ῥώμην ἡμῖν καὶ τὸν ἐκείνης ἀνατείνουσι πρόεδρον, ὁ δὲ χρισθέντι πρώτως τῷ πατριάρχῃ αὐτίκα τὰς ὑπ' αὐτῷ δυνάμεις ὥρμηκε συγκρατεῖν, καὶ τὰς ἀτάκτους τάξεις συνέλεγε, καὶ ὅπερ ἱστορεῖται περὶ Δαυίδ, ὡς ἤκουσαν οἱ ἀλλόφυλοι ὅτι κέχρισται Δαυὶδ ὁ ἔμμουσος ἐπὶ Ἰσραήλ. καὶ ἀνέβαινον πάντες ζητεῖν αὐτῷ μαχίμοις ἐμβολαῖς συμπεσεῖν, τοῦτο ἐπὶ τῷ πατριάρχῃ μάλιστα τεθεώρηκα, τῷ ἱκανῷ χειρὶ γραφούσῃ καὶ πληττούσῃ τοὺς τῷ πνεύματι ἀντιπράττοντας, καὶ σφενδονίτῃ καλλίονι τρισὶ συνάμα λίθοις τῇ τριάδι βάλλοντι τοὺς ἀλλοφύλους. καὶ ἀναβαίνειν ὁλαῖς φάλαγξι ἐπεσκέψατο καὶ τῷ μεγάλῳ ῥήγνυσθαι προσενώπιος νήπιος. οὐδ ἐνόησεν ὅτι καὶ τοῦ ἡλίου τὸν ἀνατολικὸν ἐπαναβάντος ὁρίζοντα ἀτμίδες συνανέβησαν ἀλλεπάλληλοι καὶ ἄγονος νεφέλη·—τὴν γὰρ ὁμίχλην οὕτω φασὶν— ἠθροίσθη πολλή, καί ἡ συλλογιμαία ζόφωσις ἐπεστοίβαστο· ἀλλ' ὁ φωσφόρος ταῖς ἀκτῖσι ῥᾳον ταύτας ἐσκέδασε καὶ εἰς λεπτὰ συνέτεμεν ἀδρανῆ. καὶ τέλος εἰς αἰθρίαν τὴν ὁμίχλην μετέβαλε, καὶ παρατεινομένης μᾶλλον τῷ ἡλίῳ τῆς ἐπαναφορᾶς ἡ καθαριότης ἐπεγέλασε κάλλιον. τέως λαμπρὰ τοῦ ἀλλοφύλου τὰ πρῶτα σκιρτήματα καὶ ἡ παρασκευὴ ὡς ᾤετο τακτική. ἐπετοξεύσατο γὰρ καὶ τηλεβόλοις τῷ μεγάλῳ προσυπάντησεν ὀϊστοῖς διαπομπίμοις γράμμασι προσπεφοιτηκώς, πλὴν ὅσον ἀνεμωλίοις τοῖς πτεροῖς ἐκουφίζοντο τῷ τύφῳ μόνῳ καὶ τοῖς σοβήμασι καὶ ἦν τὸ πρῶτον βέλος τηνικάδε κωφὸν ἀνδρὸς κατὰ τὸ ἔπος ἀνάλκιδος· ἐδείκνυ τὸ πτερὸν ὡς ἔφαμεν ὑπερήφανον, ἐδείκνυ τὸν ἄτρακτον, συνετελεῖτο τῷ ξυλίνῳ ῥαβδώματι, ταῖς ἐλαφρίαις ἐννοίαις φημὶ τῷ κούφῳ ἐγκεκρότηνται ἅπαντα· ἀλλὰ τὴν σιδηρέαν οὐ συνέφερεν ἀκωκὴν
fol. 252 τὴν ἔνεργον καὶ βάλλουσαν πυκνήν. ποῦ γὰρ μὴ τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ συμ . . . . . θέν οἷά τε παῖδες τυχὸν κατὰ σχολὴν ἐτέλεσαν ἐπαθύροντες, τοιοῦτον ὁ μιξοβάρβαρος τὸν ἐπιστολιμαῖον ἔτεινεν ἀκροβολισμόν. ἀλλὰ βριθεῖ τῷ δόρατι † ἀνπωθέτυχε † τοῦτο ἀπὸ γλώττης αὐτίκα

τε ὁμοῦ καὶ χειρὸς τοῦ πατριάρχου ἀντισυγγράμματι, καὶ δολιχόσκιον οἵαν ὁ μέγας τὴν ἐγχειὰν ἀντέπεμψε, καὶ τόσον κατηκόντισε δόρατι ὅσον οὐκ ἄλλος τις τῷ ἀπὸ τόξου βέβληκεν ὀιστῷ. αὕτη γέγονε πρώτη τοῦ δεῦρο μεγάλου Παύλου πρὸς Ρωμαίους ἐπιστολή. τοῦτο τὸ βέλος τὴν κατακόρυζον κατέτρωσε φάρυγγα καὶ πέπεικε μὴ λέγειν ἐκκλησίας μόνους ἑαυτοὺς † γενικὴν †, μηδ' ἐπιδιαιρεῖν εἰς γένη καὶ εἴδη παράλογα τὴν μίαν τῆς Χριστοῦ ἀγέλης συνάφειαν κατὰ τὰ παρὰ διαλεγομένοις ἀδολεσχούμενα. χρόνος ὁ μεταξὺ δαψιλὴς καὶ πάλιν ὁ ἑτερόγλωττος λογισμὸς τὸ ζώσιμον συστέλλεται εἰς βραχὺ ⟨καὶ⟩ δευτέραν ἐπαθροίζει θρασύτητα, καὶ αὖθις ἐπιστολιμαῖος δεύτερος ἀκροχειρισμὸς ἐκεῖθεν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἑτοιμάζεται, καὶ τόμος ὑπερηφανίας καθάπερ τις αἰγὶς ἡμῖν ἀνασείεται. τὸν μὲν δὴ Σαλμωνέα φασίν, ἐπεὶ τοῖς ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον ἐνεχείρησεν καὶ πόθον ἔσχεν ἀποθεώσεως, ἐκ βύρσης ψοφουμένης πάλαι βροντᾶν καὶ παραφαίνειν ἀστραπαῖον φῶς ἐκ πλανήσεως· τούτου γίνεται μιμητής ἐκεῖνος, ἐκ δύο πάντως τῶν ὑπαιτίων τὸ πρότερόν τε θράσος ὑπερβαλέσθαι φιλονεικῶν, καὶ ὡς πρὸς μέγα τότε μόλις γνοὺς ἀγωνίζεσθαι. καὶ ἦν ἡ ἐπιστολιμαία διφθέρα βύρσα τις ἀτεχνῶς, καὶ ἦν ἐκεῖνος ἀπὸ βύρσης ταύτης βροντῶν καὶ ἀπο ψόφου μόνου διαπειλούμενος. ἐμεγαλαύχει πιμπρᾶν, ἀνδραποδίζειν, καίειν, λικμᾶν. ἔπαιεν ἀέρα μόνον ἐκ λαλιᾶς. καὶ τὸν ἀρχιερέα μὲν ἐκεῖνος προφανῶς ἀπεδύετο—ποῦ τὰ τοῦ πράου ταῦτα Χριστοῦ—ὡς δὲ τοὺς λύκους φασὶν ὀδοῦσιν ἐγκροτοῦντας νυκτὸς παραφαντάζειν τὴν ὀρῶσαν αὐγήν, καί τῶν ζωγρίων ἀποτυγχάνοντας ἐγχαίνειν μόνον ἱσταμένους εἰκῇ, ὡσαύτως ἐκεῖνος ὀδοῦσιν ἐγκτυποῦσι μόνοις παραυγάζειν δοκῶν τὸ πέρας ἐν ματαίοις ἔχαινε συγγραφαῖς. τί οὖν ἐκεῖνο μόνον ὅπερ ὁ θεῖος εἶπε Δαυίδ· ἄστραψον ἀστραπὴν καὶ σκορπιεῖς αὐτούς, τοὺς λύκους δῆλον ἢ τοὺς θῆρας κατὰ κοινὸν πρὸς ἀστραπὴν ὡς πρὸς ἡμέραν αἰφνηδόν ἀναφεύγοντας. ἐπίσης ὁ τῆς ἐκκλησίας οὗτος αἰθὴρ ἐξ ἀντιρρητικῆς λογογραφίας ἀπήστραψε. τί ἂν ἐκείνης εἴπω τῆς συγγραφῆς· καλῶς τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ταύτην τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἐδειγμάτισεν, ὥσπερ ἡ ἀστραπὴ ἀπο ἀνατολῶν φησὶν ἐξέρχεται καὶ φαίνεται ἕως δυσμῶν τῷ ταχυδρόμῳ χρόνον ὅλον συντέμνουσα, οὕτως ἐκείνη τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς ὑπερκειμένης ἀνακύψασα πόλεως εἰς την ὑπερορίαν δυτικὴν ἐξαίφνης ἐπαρουσίαζε, καὶ ἡ λαμπρότης εἰς πλατὺ ἀνεχέετο, καὶ πάντ' ἐποίει τούτοις πολύτροπα· οὐδε γὰρ ἄλλὸ ἢ κεραυνοῦ τοῦθ' ὑποληπτέον ἐπίσκηψώ τωὰ καὶ κατένεξιν. ὡς γοῦν ἐκεῖνος τὸ κοῦφον μὲν οὐκ ἐπικάει και τῷ μανόν, τὸ δ' ἀντιτεῖνον ἅπαν ἐπύρωσε, καὶ εἰς τὸ τῆς ἀσπίδος ξύλον μὴ δεδρακὼς ἐξέτηξε τὸν χαλκόν,/

fol. 252v ὡς δὲ καὶ οὗτος . . . . . καὶ μιᾶς προσβολῆς τὸ μὲν παρῆλθε τὸ κοῦφον καὶ ξυλικόν, τὸ δὲ χρωννύει, τὸ δὲ μελαίνει, τὸ δὲ παντάπασιν ἔτηξεν ὁπόσον ἦν ἀντιτυπές ἐκεῖσε καί χαλκεον. καὶ ἀντιτείνειν

μᾶλα θέλων πρὸς την βολήν , τέως διδάσκει, τῆς ἐκκλησίας κεφαλὴν ἐχούσης μίαν δὴ τόν Θεάνθρωπον, μή γράφεω τούτους ἄλλην ταύτης ἑαυτοὺς κεφαλήν, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον αἰρομένους ἄκροις ὅ φασὶν ὄνυξιν, ὡς ἐξισάζειν θέλειν Χριστῷ, μηδὲ διττὰς κεφαλὰς εἰσάγειν τοῦ πληρώματος τῶν πιστῶν, ὥσπερ τὴν ὕλην τυχὸν τὴν ἐν τέρασι γνώσκομεν ἀφυβρίζουσαν.

18. Ἴσως φανοίμην μακρηγορῶν· ἀλλ' εἴ τις εὐσυνέτως σκοποίη, εὑρήσει τὴν ἐμὴν λαλιὰν ἐλλείπουσαν καὶ ἔτι πλείονι πρὸς τὰ πράγματα. ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τρυτάνης χρυσοῦ μὲν ἐγκειμένου τῇδε τῇ πλάστιγγι, ἐρίου δὲ τῇ λοιπῇ, συμβαίνει δὴ παραλλὰξ τὸν ὄγκον μὲν ἐκεῖθεν ἐκτείνεσθαι, τὴν δὲ χρυσέαν ὕλην εἶναι πλείονα τῇ ῥοπῇ. τί γὰρ προς γλώτταν ἱεράρχου ταύτην χρυσῆν καὶ τιμαλφῆ τοσαύτην πρὸς κακούργους ἀντίρρησιν ὁ περιττὸς ἐγὼ συγγραφεὺς καὶ ἐριώδης οὗτος λόγος ἐμὸς καὶ οἷον τις ἄψυχος; ἔστι δὴ τοῦτο μακρηγοῦντα με μὴ μακρηγορεῖν, βραχυλογεῖν μὲν οὖν ἐκτεινόμενον. πολλῶν δὴ καὶ μεγάλων ὄντων ἃ τὴν πνευματικὴν αὐτοῦ συνίστησι διαλεκτικήν, εἴτ' οὖν εἰπεῖν ἀντιρρητικήν, τὰ πάντα ταῦτα λέγειν διττοῖς ἐγὼ κωλύομαι πράγμασι, τῷ χρόνῳ τε παραρρέοντι καὶ τῇ ἐμῇ ἀτόνῳ σοφιστικῇ. σιγῶ τὰς πρὸς Ἑβραίους ἀντιλογίας τὰς μειλιχίους καὶ ἱλαράς. Χριστοῦ γ' ἂν εἴποις ἑτέραν πρὸς αὐτοὺς συγκατάβασιν· καὶ βλέμμα γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐπακοντίζει γαλήνιον. ἐπαφαιροῦμαι τὰς ὡς ἑκάστοτε μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματος λαλιάς, τὰς γυμνασίας, τὰς ἐλλόγους ὑποφοράς, ἐκεῖνό γε τοι μόνον εἰπὼν τῆς ἀποσιωπήσεως καθάπερ ἀνέξομαι. συμβάσης γὰρ τῆς περὶ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς ὑποθέσεως, καὶ τοῦ ἀρείκοῦ προέδρου τῶν Ἰταλῶν ἐκεῖθεν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀκροβολισαμένου τοῖς γράμμασι, τοῦ δ' ἡμετέρου καὶ ἡμέρου γραμμαῖς μεγίσταις μᾶλλον ἐπελθόντος αὐτῷ ἐξησκημέναις ὥσπερ ἔφην εἰς ἀνθυποφοράν, κἀκείνου μὲν χαυλιόδουν πᾶν προχαλάσαντος καὶ τοὺς φονῶντας αὐτοῦ ὀδόντας ἐκ τῶν διαπομπίμων λαλιῶν ὑποδείξαντος, τοῦ πατριάρχου δὲ τὸν θηροφόντην ἐπιτείναντος ἄκοντα, τόν λόγον λέγω τὸν ἀντιρρητικόν, ἐχρῆν ἐκεῖνον ὑποβαίνειν πρὸς τὴν πληγὴν καὶ ὀπισθοδρομεῖν ἐκ ταπεινότητος ὑποτρέχοντα, εἴ τι ποιεῖν ἀνθρωπικώτερον ἔμελλεν. ὁ δὲ τυχὸν μιμεῖται πάνυ τὸν μονιόν, καὶ πρὸς τὸν βεβληκότα σπεύδει θᾶττον ὠστίζεσθαι, καὶ ἀνατρέχειν ἐνταυθοῖ ὡς μανθάνομεν, καὶ πρὸς τὸν θηροκτόνον τοῦτον πλαίσιος ἀπαντᾶν, ὡς ἂν διελαθείη βαθύτερον, καὶ τὴν λαγόνα πᾶσαν παρατρωθῇ τὴν σιελώδη τε καὶ ὑβρίστριαν. τί λέγεις, ὦ τὴν σεσηπυῖαν Ἰταλικὴν ἐκ τάφου ἀνεγείρων πρεσβύτητα' ὦ τῇ παλαμναιότητι νεωτεριζόμενε; ὡς πρός παρόντα γὰρ τούς λόγους ποιῶ. τί κατὰ τῆς νέας ταύτης καὶ τῆς ὀρθῆς τῷ σῷ παλαιώματι; τί κατὰ τοῦ ἡμέρου τούτου καὶ κατανεύοντος ὀφθαλμοῦ τοῖς μετεώροις σοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς; τί κατὰ τοῦ εὐκαμποῦς ὁρμίσκου τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῷ ὑψηλῷ

fol. 253 τραχήλῳ σου καὶ σκληρῷ; κατὰ τοῦ γλυκασμὸν προπέμποντος λάρυγγος . . . . . ὧν ἐκ τῆς περὶ τοῦ πνεύματος δυσφημίας καὶ τετραμμένος λάρυγξ καὶ κατακόρυζος; κατὰ τοῦ μέλιτος ὁ κηφήν, κατὰ τοσαύτης μελιχρότητος κόθουρος, κατὰ φωστῆρος ἀτμίδωμα, κατὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς χρωματιζομένης ἔριδος ἐπηρμένη μόνον ὀφρύς, καὶ βλέφαρον ἐκ σόβης μόνης τοξούμενον κατὰ τοῦ ἐν νεφέλῃ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ γυρωθέντος τόξου Θεῷ; ὡς μέχρι γ' ἂν ὁ πατριάρχης ἡμῖν τὸ τῆς Θεοῦ σοφίας τόξον τὸ εὐπερίστροφον, οὐδεὶς χειμάρρους κατὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἀναρροιβδῶν, οὐ καταράκτης κλυστικὸς ἐκροθήσειε. καίτοι γε δύο ταῦτα προσιστορῶ, καὶ συστοιχίας ἵστησιν ὁ λόγος ἐκείνῳ διττάς, τὴν μὲν ἐνθένδε τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ, τὴν δ' ἄλλοθεν ἑτέραν τὴν τοῦ κακοῦ, ὅ δὴ καὶ τοῖς σοφοῖς τοῖς πάλαι πεφιλοσόφηται. εἰ μὲν τὸ ἓν ἐκεῖνος ἀφικνεῖται ζητῶν τὴν δηλαδὴ τῆς γνώσεως ἕνωσιν, ἐνταῦθ' ὁ στοῖχος τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ, οὗπερ ὁ μέγας οὗτος ἐπιστατεῖ, ἐκεῖ τὸ ἓν ἀπογέγραπται, καὶ εἰς τὴν συστοιχίαν ἐκεῖνος ἀποτετάξεται. εἰ δέ πως ἄλλοθεν τὸ οὐχ ἕν, τῆς τμητικῆς μερίδος οἶδα τοῦτο τῆς τοῦ κακοῦ, καὶ τιθεμένους οὕτω τοῖς κακοῖς προστιθέμεθα. καὶ εἰ μὲν ὑπαντῷη νοῦν οἰσάμενος ἐκ πληγῆς-ταῖς γὰρ τοῦ ἱεράρχου πέπληκται συγγραφαῖς-ὡς ἁλιεύς τις ὑπαντῷη τυχόν, καὶ ἁλιεὺς ἀνθρώπων ἀρχιερεὺς τοῖς ἁλιεῦσι μαθηταῖς Χριστοῦ συλλεγόμενος. εἰ δ' ἀντιβαίων ἄλλως πρὸς τὴν πληγὴν καί ἀντιβάλλεω σπεύδων τὸν σίδηρον, τοῦτο ποιοῦσιν ὥσπερ ἔφην καὶ μονιοί, καὶ τοῖς θηρίοις τοῦ δρυμοῦ συναχθήσεται, καθὰ Ναβουχοδανόσορ ἱστορήθη ποτὲ τῆς Βαβυλῶνος ὁ ἔξαρχος, μετὰ θηρίων οἰκήσει καὶ τέλμασιν ἐντραφῇ καὶ ἐπιδιατήσεται τοῖς ἀγροῖς, ἔστ' ἂν καιροῦ καλοῦντος ἀνθρωπισθεὶς τῇ πατριαρχικῇ ἀγέλῃ πολιτογραφησείη, καὶ μετ' ἀρνῶν ὁ θὴρ ἀναπαύσαιτο. καὶ εἰ μὲν ὡς ὁ τοῦ μύθου ἀνατρέχει Τυφών, πῦρ βλέπων, πῦρ ἐκπνέων πολύτροπον, ὁ κεραυνὸς ἐνταῦθα πάλω ἐν παλάμῃ λαμπρᾷ, τοιοῦτον πῦρ τὸ Θεῖον ἀντιπνέει πνεῦμα πρηστήριον ὁ τοῦ Τυφῶνος ἐκπραότατος ὀλετής, καὶ πεσῇ πυρποληθείς καὶ νέα πάλω Αἴτνην ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνου σποδιᾶς ἐκτραφῇ, καθάπερ ἐκ Τυφῶνος ἄδομεν τὴν Σικελικήν, οὕτως τῇ πάλαι Ῥώμῃ Ῥωμαϊκὴ ἐκ τῶν ἐκεῖ κρατήρων τοὺς ἐκεῖ κατασύρουσα.

19. Ἃ δὲ κατ' ἄλλον τρόπον καὶ ὡς ἡ θεία λέγει γραφή, οὐ πνεῦμα μάλα θρασύ, οὐ διαλῦον ὄρη, οὐ συσσεισμός, οὐ πῦρ, οὐδέ τις ἄλλη σύγχυσις ἀναλωτική, ἀλλ' ὡς φωνὴ καταλαμβάνων αὔρας λεπτῆς ἐκεῖ κατὰ το λόγιον Κύριος. καὶ ὁ Κυρίου πάντως οὕτως ἀρχιερεύς οὕτως ἱεραρχικὸς λογισμὸς καὶ πρὸς τὸ γαῦρον ἀντιτυπὴς καὶ πρὸς τὸ πρᾶον ἔστηκεν εὐκατάνυκτος. τί τἄλλα; εἰ μὲν ἐκεῖνος ἤκουσε τινός ποτὲ Βαρλαὰμ ἀνατελεῖν ἀστέρα τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ πάλαι θεσπίζοντος, καὶ τὸν ἀστέρα πατριάρχην τοῦτον ἐγνώρισεν ἐς δεῦρο σελαγοῦντα μεγάφωτον. τηλεδαπός τις ἥκει πάντως ὑπέρευγε κατὰ τοὺς μάγους προσκυνητής, καὶ κατὰ Θεὸν ἐκ φανοῦς εἰσπορεύε-

ται, καὶ ὑπ' ἀστέρι τῷ μεγάλῳ τούτῳ πομπῷ τὸ πᾶν τῆς εὐσεβείας λάβῃ μυστήριον, καὶ συνεισέλθῃ ταῖς ἐθνῶν ἀπαρχαῖς. εἰ δὲ τοι πρὸς ἀπάτην ὑπέρχεται καὶ μάχαιραν ὑπέκρυψεν ὡς ἐν σποδιᾷ, τί ἄλλο ἢ πάλιν Ἡρώδης ὁ ἐθνικός, καὶ φύγῃ διὰ μέσου; Θεὸς ὁ λόγος γὰρ οὐ κατέχεται, κἂν τὸν ἀστέρα τολμῴῃ βάλλειν τὸν ἡγεμονικόν, εἰς οὐρανὸν τοξεύων δόξει θρασύς, καὶ ὡς ἐκ παροιμίας εἰς ἐλέγχιστον κείσεται. πλὴν ἀλλὰ χρόνον τοῦτον οἶμαι τινὰ στοχάσασθαι καίριον,/

fol. 253v ὡς γοῦν ἡνίκα ἀνδρεῖον ἐπισκέψοιτο παλαιστήν, ἀγῶνα τῷ γεννάδᾳ ἀλυπρότατον ἤνοιξεν, ... Θεὸς τῷ ἀνδρικῷ τοῦ πνεύματος ἀθλητῇ τὸν ἆθλον ἐπιτρέψαι μόνῳ μέγιστον ἔμελλε. καὶ πάλιν ῥῆμα Θεοῦ πρὸς Ἰωάννην ἐγένετο διδάσκειν καὶ κηρύσσειν τοῖς ἐθνικοῖς τῆς μετανοίας ὅλον τὸ βάπτισμα. καὶ πάλιν τοῦ ναοῦ παρέλαβεν οἰκοδόμησιν ὁ κατὰ Σολομῶντα καρδίας καὶ σοφίας πλατυσμῷ καὶ χύματι πλατυνάμενος. πλὴν ὅσον ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἀνιστᾷ τὸν λύθησόμενον, ὁ δὲ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἵστησι τὴν σύμπηξιν ἐμπαγῆ καὶ τὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας καινισμὸν ἀμετάβολον. λέλεκταί μοι τοσαῦτα καὶ παραλέλειπται πλείονα. ὁπότε γὰρ τὴν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις πασαν μεγαλειότητα τοῦ πατριάρχου διατρέχειν ἐπιτολμῶ, τάφρον βαθεῖαν διαβαίνειν ⟨ἔοικα⟩ καὶ χάσμα σοφισταῖς τοῖς ἅπασι δυσδιάβατον. πλὴν ἱστορήσω τι ζωικόν. ἐλέφαντες ἡνίκα τάφρον τὴν μείστην ὑπερβαίνειν μὴ δύναιντο, ὁ ἐν ἐκείνοις ὑπερφαινόμενος ἐκὼν τὸ πρώτιστος ἑαυτὸν ἐνέβαλε τῇ βαθύτητι, καὶ γίνεται γεφύρωμα τοῖς μικροῖς, καὶ τοὺς ἐλάττους ἀκινδύνως ἀπέσωσεν. εἴργασταί μοι ὁ λόγος ἀντὶ γεφύρας, καὶ τόμος οὗτος ἐς ὅσον δυνατὸν ἰδοὺ διατέταται. ὑμεῖς δ' ὦ τέκνα ῥητορικῆς ἐν τούτῳ ⟨τῷ⟩ γεφυρώματι ἐπιτρέχοιτε δυσπέρατον τε τάφρον ταύτην καὶ τὸν λοιπὸν τοῦ ἱεράρχου πλατυσμὸν ἐπερχόμενοι. ἀλλ' εἶπω τοῦτο τελεύτιον· σὺ μὲν βιῴης ἐπὶ μακρόν, ἁγιώτατε καὶ σοφώτατε, εὐδαιμονοίη δὲ ἡ ῥητορική, πολυμερῶν ἐκ σοῦ διδομένων ταύτῃ τῶν τοῦ λέγειν ἀρχῶν, ἵνα καὶ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος οἱ λόγοι διὰ σοῦ μεγαλύνωνται.

Critical Apparatus

§ 2 *τέρμονας scripsi, τερμαίας cod.*
§ 3 *Post πρόσαντες verbum requiras.*
§ 5 *χωρῶσι, nonne χωροῦσι?*
ἐπωνόμασται scripsi, ἐπωνόμασθαι cod.
§ 7 *τῇ scripsi, τῷ cod.*
προσήκουσαν scripsi, προήκουσαν cod.
θεογραφίας scripsi, θειογραφίας cod.
§ 9 *τὰς scripsi, τῆς cod.*
§ 11 *ἐπαναβαίνει scripsi dubitanter, ἐπαναβαίη cod.*
§13.1 *Unum saltem folium deest inter fol.* 249 *et fol.* 250
συμμιγνύει exempli gratia supplevi.
§ 14 *τοὺς non certe legi potest*
§ 16 *τούτων scripsi, τούτους cod.*
προμηκυνομένων scripsi, . . . -όμενον cod.
εὐχομένων scripsi -όμενον cod.
§ 17 † *γενικὴν* †, *ἠγεμονεύειν vel tale desideres*
§ 18 *ὀδόντας scripsi, ἰδόντας cod.*
§ 19 *Θεὸν scripsi, Θεῖον cod.*

Contributions towards a Commentary

1. *θειοτάτη συναγωγή*: cf. §19. *ὦ τέκνα ῥητορικῆς.*
The audience consisted of the pupils of the *μαίστωρ τῶν ῥητόρων*, the dignitaries of the Great Church, together with the patriarch and doubtless members of the Endemousa. The place was the Patriarcheion: cf. Eustathios' address to Michael of Anchialos, *ἀναγωώσκειν ἔθος τοίς ῥήτορσιν ἐν τῷ πατριαρχείῳ* (*Cod. Scorial Y-II10* fol. 157), John Phrangopoulos' *Λόγος . . . ἀναγνωσθεὶς συνήθως ἐν τῷ πατριαρχείῳ μετὰ τὸν τοῦ ῥήτορος καὶ μαίστορος αὐτοῦ λόγον* (*Col. Scorial Y-II-10* fol. 81[v]), George Tornikes II's *Λόγος ἀναγνωσθεὶς συνήθως ἐν τῷ πατριαρχείῳ κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ Λαξάρου* (*Cod. Scorial Y-II-10* fol. 750).
κύκλος εἰη σχῆμα παρὰ τοῖς ῥήτορσι: cf. Hermog. *Inv.* 4. 8 *Περὶ κύκλου.*
2. *τοῖς ἀντάρταις*: The same term is applied by Nicetas Choniates *or.* 11 (p. 107.22 Van Dieten) to Kamytzes, Chrysos and Spyridonakes.
3. *παλιμπετῆ καθ' Ὅμηρον καὶ δωήεντα*: a conflation of such passages as *Il.* 16.395 *ἄψ ἐπὶ νῆας ἔεργε παλιμπετές* and *Il.* 5.479 *Ξάνθῳ ἐπὶ δωήεντι.* The masculine form *παλιμπετής* is unHomeric and may not occur earlier than Nonnos.
τὰ τοῦ σοφισμοῦ χωρῶσι μονότροπα: Both text and meaning are uncertain. We should probably read *χωροῦσι*, though confusion between *-έω* and *-άω* verbs is common enough in Hellenistic and later Greek. Χωρέω can mean "to suffice"; hence Chrysoberges may mean "A single style or pattern of rhetoric suffices (as opposed to the double style or pattern called

for by separate encomia of emperor and patriarch). But I am doubtful about this interpretation: there may be an allusion which I have failed to recognise.

κατὰ τὰς διαλλήλους δείξεις: cf. Damascius, *Dubitat et sol.* § 290 Ruelle, *πῶς οὐ διάλληλος ἡ δεῖξις, εἴπερ ἐκ μὲν τοῦ μηδέποτε ἐκβαίνειν τὸ ἑστάναι δείκνυται, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ μηδέποτε ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ εἶναι, τὸ κινεῖσθαι.*

φεραλλήλα. . . . ἀλληλένδετα: These two very rare words occur side by side in two passages of the *De imagine dei* falsely attributed to Gregory of Nyssa (PG. XLIV, cols. 1341D, 1344A), which we may presume Chrysoberges to have been reading shortly before delivering this address.

ἐμπεπλεγμένους τρόπους γοργότητος: cf. Hermog. Π. *ἰδεῶν* 2.4 (p. 314R) *τοῦτο τὸ σχῆμα καὶ κατ' ἐπιπλοκήν τινὲς ὠνόμασαν . . . καὶ τὸ ἐπιτρέχον λεγόμενον σχῆμα . . . αἱ δὲ ὑποστροφαί.*

4. *Ζηνός που τοιήδε κτλ*: *Od.* 4.74.

πλατυσμός: cf. also § 19 favourable sense ("amplitude"); the word is not uncommon in later Greek; cf. *PGL*, cols. 1090-91, Eustath. *ad Od.* 1382.21 *ὕλη τοῦ τῆς ποιήσεως πλατυσμοῦ.*

5. *πανάριστος ἔπαυλα*: *ἔπαυλα* is neut. plur. in classical Greek. But *ἐπαύλη* occurs in the Apocryphal *Testamentum Iob. 40.* Feminine *ἔπαυλα* seems unattested elsewhere.

6. *ἐρυθροῖς ἐσκέπετο δέρμασιν*: Cf. *LXX, Ex.* 26.14

7. *θεογραφικήν . . . θεογραφίας*: Neither form is recorded in the lexica, but *θεόγραφος* and *θεόγραπτος* are commonly used of the Scriptures.

9. *ξυσμαῖς*: cf. Dionysius Thrax p. 9 Uhlig *γράμματα δὲ λέγεται διὰ τὸ γραμμαῖς καὶ ξυσμαῖς τυποῦσθαι.*

10. *μαρτύρεται Σολομών*: *LXX. Prov.* 6.8.

11. *χειλέων δίθυρον* Cf. Cornut. *ND* 30 (p. 6. 12L) *τὸ δίθυρον τοῦ στόματος.*

διὰ τὸ ἐξ ἀδήλου ὡς φασιν ἐκδηλον: cf. *Etym. M* 264.31 *τὴν νῆσον ἐκάλεσε Δῆλον, ὅτι ἐξ ἀδήλου βάσεως ἐρριζώθη. προυπαυγάζει*: cf. Germ. C. P. *or.* 1 (*PG*, XCVIII, col. 221D) *ὡς ἄρθρος ἰδοὺ προυπαυγάζει καὶ τοῦ τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἡλίου σήμερον προδρόμους ἐξακοντίζει ἀκτῖνας.*

12. *διττὰς τας ἀρετάς*: The ultimate origin is the Aristotelean distinction between *διανοητικὴ ἀρετή* and *ἠθικὴ ἀρετή* (*Eth. Nic.* 2 1103a 13 ff.), but Chrysoberges is not drawing directly on Aristotle, for whom *ἐγκράτεια* is not an *ἀρετή* (*Eth. Nic.* 4. 1128b. 33).

παρ' Ἡσιόδῳ: *Erg.* 825 *ἄλλοτε μητρυιὴ πέλει ἡμέρη ἄλλοτε μήτηρ.* There appears to be a leaf missing between fol. 249 and fol. 250. The discussion of the Patriarch's charity breaks off in mid-sentence at the end of fol. 249^{v}, and at the beginning of fol. 250 Chrysoberges is launched on a panegyric of his literary style.

13. *ἐκτραχυσμός*: Apparently unattested elsewhere, this word seems to refer to morphological oddity.

παρασύνθεσις: Formation of new compounds, characteristic of twelfth-century Byzantine "Atticism".

σύντηξις: Medical term used of various wasting diseases.
ὑπέριστωρ: Cf. Soph. *El.* 850
καταστάσεις: Not in the rhetorical sense of "pleadings", but probably in the climatic sense, cf. Theophr., *H. P.* 8.8.7 ἀερὸς κατάστασις, Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 281B νηνεμίας καὶ καταστάσεως
14. ἀμφίσβαινα: Chrysoberges probably got his information from Aelian, *N. A.* 9.23 and the *Lexicon* of Photius, and worked it up as a rhetorical ἔκφρασις. On this mythical monster cf. Fraenkel ad *Agam.* 1233.
ὡς ὅτε τις ξύλον κτλ.: A rather tasteless variation on the famous simile applied to Odysseus' piercing of the Cyclops' eye in *Od.* 9.383 ff.
ἀνθρώπωόν τι πτύσμα τοῖς στόμασιν τῶν ὄφεων ἐγχυθέν: Cf. F. M. Nicolson, 'The Saliva Superstition in Classical Literature: *Harvard Studies* 8 (1897) 23-40: Chrysoberges' source is Aelian. *H. A.* 2.24.
† εὐλίς †: I am at a loss to explain this word. εὐλή is a worm or maggot. Perhaps the simplest explanation is that it is due to misreading of εὐθύς in the copyist's exemplar.
θηροφόντας: The metaplastic form θηροφών from θηροφόνος is paralleled by ἄζυξ from ἄζυγος, cf. Böhlig, *Untersuchungen zum rhetorischen Sprachgebrauch der Byzantiner*, 1956, 44. Or is it from θηροφόντης, another metaplastic form used by Chrysoberges in § 18?
ὁ πατριάρχης ἐτήσιος κτλ.: Two of Kamateros' catechetic homilies are preserved in *cod. Paris. gr. 1302* fol. 281-295.
ἄγγελος Θεοῦ ἐρχόμενος ἐν καιρῷ: Cf. *Ev. John.* 5.2. ff.
ἄγρωστις: Cf. Theophr. *H. P.* 1.6.10. In *Schol. Theocr.* 13.42 the word is glossed κολλητζίδαν. κολλητσίδα in Modern Greek is catchweed, *Asperago procumbens.*
δυεῖν: cf. Böhlig, *op. cit.* 69.
15. τὰ Ησαΐου . . . τὰ τοῦ Δαυίδ: cf. *LXX*, *Is.* 15.4; *Ps.* 48 (49)B.
ἐνυπόστατον: "substantial". John Philoponus, Eustratios.
γνώσεσθαι: Future middle form used passively. Cf. Böhlig *op. cit.* 83.
τυμπανίτης ὕδερος: "Dropsy".
ἐπισύλληψις: Medical term, "supplementary conception."
δυσδοξία: Not recorded in the lexica. Not "ill-repute," but "wrong belief."
16. σόβημα: "Swagger", not recorded in the lexica.
στηλογράφημα: "Written monument"; not recorded in the lexica.
ὁ κόκκος ὁ εὐαγγελικός: Cf. Ev. Mat. 13.31.32, *Ev. Marc.* 4.3i, *Ev. Luc.* 13.19.
πνίγοντος ὕδατος ἐπικαταπίνειν: I am at a loss to explain this curious phrase, which from its context should refer to some difference in liturgical usage between East and West. Has it something to do with the equally enigmatic observation of Liutprand of Cremona (*Relatio* 53) that Greek bishops instead of drinking their bath-water sip it from a tiny glass?
παρεγγραφή: The charge seems to be of misinterpretation and implicit

interpolation of *Ev. Joh.* 15.26.

μετέθεντο προς ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον: Cf. *Galat.* 1.6.

17. *ὅπερ ἱστορεῖται περὶ Δαβίδ*: Cf. *LXX. II Reg.* 5.17 ff.

ἄγονος νεφελή: Cf. Aristot. *Meteor.* 346b 35.

ἐπαναφορά: "Rising"; cf. Aretaeus *C. A.* p. 108.11 *ὁμίχλης ἐπαναφορῇ*

γράμμασι προσπεφοιτηκώς: The reference is to Innocent III's first letter to Kamateros, conveyed by the subdeacon Albertus and the notary Albertinus in 1198 (*PL*. 214 327-29).

ἀντωθέτυχε: is a *vox nihili*. Some form of *ἀντωρέω* probably underlies

ἀντισυγγράμματι: Kamateros' letter to Innocent III in February, 1199 in reply to that brought by Albertus and Albertinus. The Latin version is published in the collection of Innocent's letters (*PL* CCIV, cols. 756-58). The Greek text is found in *cod. Paris gr. 1302*, fol. 273^{v}-75.

ἐγχείαν: Atticising form of Homeric *ἐγχείη*.

ἐπιστολιμαῖος δεύτερος ἀκροχειρισμός: Innocent III's letter of 4 November 1199, setting out *in extenso* the scriptural arguments for Roman primacy, commending the project of a general council, and pointing out that acceptance of Roman supremacy would be a pre-condition of attendance at the council: (*PL* CCXIV, cols. 758-65).

Σαλμωνεύς: Cf. Apollod. 1.89, which was probably Chrysoberges' immediate source. It is curious that the same simile is applied to Dobromir Chrysos by Nicetas Choniates *or.* 11 (p. 110.11 Van Dieten), delivered shortly after Chrysoberges' address.

ὡς δε τους λύκους φασίν κτλ.: Cf. Diogenianus 6.20 in Leutsch-Schneidewin, *Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum* 1.273 and note.

ἄστραφον ἀστραπήν κτλ.: cf. *LXX*, *Ps.* 143 (144). 6.

ἐξ ἀντιρρητικῆς λογογραφίας: Kamateros' second letter to Innocent III, which must have been written in spring of 1200, is not included in the Latin corpus of the pope's letters, nor is the Greek text which is preserved in *cod. Paris. gr. 1302* f. 273^{v}-75 edited in its entirety. Excerpts have been published by M. Jugie, *Theologia domatica Christianorum orientalium ab Ecclesia catholica dissidentium*, IV (1931), 341, 342, 386-87.

κατένεξις: Cf. Eustath. ad *Il.* 152.14 *διὰ τὴν ἀνωθεν ἐκ μετεώρου κατένεξω.*

ἐκεῖνος: Zeus, suggested by *ἀστραπή* above.

18. *τὰς πρὸς Ἑβραίους ἀντιλογίας*: Nothing seems to be known of these polemical treatises addressed to the Jews. There is very little trace of anti-Jewish polemic in the twelfth-century Byzantine world. Significantly enough it was in the West that Nektarios of Casole wrote his *κατὰ Ἰουδαίων διάλεξις* in the opening years of the thirteenth century.

ὑποφοράς: As a rhetorical term *ὑποφορά* means *ὁ τοῦ ἐχθροῦ λόγος* (Hermog. *Inv.* 3.4 p. 134R), but it seems to be used in a different sense here.

ἀνθυποφορά: f. Hermog. *loc. cit.*

νεωτεριζόμενε: On the Byzantine view of middle for active as a feature of

"Atticism" cf. Bohlig, *op. cit.* 94-95. Rhythmic considerations play their part in determining the use of the middle voice here.
ὁρμίσκον Cι. *LXX Gen.* 38.18.
σόβη: In classical Greek = "tail of an animal", here connected with σοβέω, σόβημα etc.
τοῖς σοφοῖς τοῖς πάλαι πεθιλοσόφηται: Probably an allusion to the story of Herakles' choice.
μετα θηρίων οἰκήσει κτλ.: Cf. *LXX Dan.* 4.25
19. ὡς ἡ θεία λέγει γραφή: Cf. *LXXIII* Reg. 19.11.
εὐκατάνυκτος: Cf. John. Clim. *Scal.* 4.
Βαρλαάμ: The reference is to the story of Barlaam and Joasaph, universally attributed in the Middle Ages to St. John Damascene. On the cult of St. Barlaam of *A. B.* 22 (1903) 131.
ῥῆμα Θεοῦ πρὸς Ἰωάννην' Cf. *Ev. Marc.* 1.4, *Ev. Luc.* 3.3, *Act. Ap.* 13.24.
ἐλέφαντες: Cf. Aelian *NA* 8.15.

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The Role of the People in the Political Life of the Byzantine Empire: The Period of the Comneni and the Palaeologi

The Byzantine empire was an absolute monarchy.[1] The emperor was the viceroy of God on earth and as a consequence his powers could not be less than absolute. But this was in theory; in practice, there were important limitations. For this reason J. B. Bury preferred the use of the expression "limited autocracy" to describe the character of the Byzantine monarchy.[2]

Among the factors which in one way or another served to limit the power of the monarchy in Byzantium, one must include the people. It should be observed, however, that the people, in the political context in which the term is used, did not include all inhabitants of the empire. The general peasantry was not a part of it, and the upper classes, generally referred to as the *archontes,* were excluded, except for individuals among them who served to lead the people. The people consisted essentially of the city dwellers. The population of a Byzantine city was composed of landed magnates whose properties lay in the surrounding countryside, of various administrative officials, of high church dignitaries, of numerous small merchants and artisans, of the lower clergy and monks, and of a host of others who managed to eke out a living by working either in the town as laborers or in the nearby countryside as field hands.[3] But not all of these groups among the city dwellers were included in

1. But not a despotism, certainly not in the sense that Montesquieu defined that term, a definition which generally still obtains in political thought: a regime based on ignorance and fear, where the prince, in general lazy, ignorant, voluptuous, capricious, often tyrannical, follows no rules, considering himself to be all and the others nothing. Montesquieu, *De l'esprit des lois,* pt. 1, bk. 2, ch. 5; bk. 2, chs. 12, 9 and 10; and bk. 4, ch. 3. The Roman Empire: a despotism, pt. 2, bk. 12, ch. 30. There were, to be sure, emperors who, whatever their other qualities, can only be described as tyrannical–Phocas I, Justinian II, Andronicus I, readily come to mind–but they all met with a violent death in an internal uprising against their authority.

2. J. B. Bury, "The Constitution of the Roman Empire," in *Selected Essays of J. B. Bury,* ed. H. Temperley (Cambridge, Eng.: Univ. Press, 1930), pp. 99 ff.

3. It is a well-established fact, of course, that the population of the Byzantine city included many who were engaged in agriculture. Most of the inhabitants, declared Palamas, when speaking of Thessalonica, spread into the country in order that they might take care of the harvest and bring in the crops: G. Palamas, *Homilia XXIV,* in J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus, series graeca,* 161 vols. (Paris: Seu Petit-Montrouge, 1857-66), CLI, col. 333. See in general Věra Hrochová, *Byzantská mesta ve 13.-15. století. Příspevek k sídelni topografii středověkého Řecka,* Acta Universitatis Carolinae Philosophica et Historica Monographia XX (Praha: Universitá Karlova, 1967), 95-100. The reference is to the summary in French.

the composition of the people, in the political context of that term. That composition was restricted to the small merchants and artisans and to the various laborers, including, no doubt, numerous hangers-on. These groups made up the people, the *demos* of the Byzantine texts.[4] The vast majority among them were poor, and for this reason the *demos* was often equated with the poor, an equation which explains why its intervention in politics was very often motivated by social and administrative injustices. It was also the most numerous group among the city dwellers, and for this reason it was often referred to as "the many." In modern parlance one may call them the masses.

In Byzantium there was no constitutional provision, no established institution, specifically designed to enable the people to express their will in the politics of the empire. In the earlier periods two organizations served as media through which the populace, especially of the capital, could act: (1) the theatre and the circus, the people directly involved in their activities, i.e., the circus factions, and their partisans, organized groups drawn from the general population, which enjoyed official recognition, participated in official ceremonies and generally made the Hippodrome or the theatre the scene of their demonstrations[5]; and (2) the trade guilds, official organizations of artisans

4. John Kantakouzenos draws a distinction between the *demos*, on the one hand, and the merchants, soldiers, clergy, and heads of monasteries on the other. The merchants and artisans in this instance were no doubt the big merchants: Joannes VI Cantacuzenus, *Historiarum libri IV*, ed. I. Schopen, Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae, 3 vols. (Bonn: Impensis E. Weberi, 1828-32), III, 34. On the *demos*, see further G. Weiss, *Joannes Kantakuzenos, Aristokrat, Staatsmann, Kaiser und Mönch, in der Gesellschaftsentwicklung von Byzanz im 14. Jahrhundert*, Schriften zur Geistesgeschichte des östlichen Europe, Bd. 4 (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1969), pp. 74-76.

5. On these groups and their political role, though the sense in which the term *demes* is used needs to be modified, the basic work is still G. Manojlović, "Le peuple de Constantinople, de 400 à 800 après J. C. Etude spéciale de ses forces armées, des elements qui le composaient et de son rôle constitutionnel péndant cette periode," trans. from Croation by H. Grégoire, *Byzantion*, 11 (1936), 617 ff. For further references, see S. Vryonis, Jr., *Byzantium: Its Internal History and Relations with the Muslim World, Collected Studies* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1971), study 3, p. 291, n. 7. See also H. G. Beck, *Senat und Volk von Konstantinopel. Probleme der byzantinischen Verfassungsgeschichte.* Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften Philosophisch-Historische Klasse. Sitzungsberichte Jahrg. 1966, Heft 6 (München: Verlag der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Beck in Kommission, 1966); and J. Jarry, *Hérésies et factions dans l'empire byzantin du IVe au VIIe siécle*, Recherches d'archéologie, de philologie et d'histoire, t. 29 (Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut Francais d'Archéologie Orientale, 1968). For what in my opinion is a more accurate interpretation of the term *demes*, see G. Dagron, *Naissance d'une capitale. Constantinople et ses institutions de 330 à 451*, Bibliothèque Byzantine, Etudes 7 (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1974), pp. 353-64; also A. Cameron, "Demes and Factions," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 67 (1974), 74-91. For references to the *demes* in the provincial towns, Egypt in particular, see [A. Christophilopoulou] "Οἱ ἐκτὸς τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεος Βυζαντινοὶ Δῆμοι," Χαριστήριον εἰς Ἀναστάσιον Κ. Ὀρλάνδου 2 (Athens, 1966), pp. 327-60. The information that the author of this study has brought together, whenever meaningful, identifies *demes* with the circus factions and their partisans. But any examination of the factions in Byzantium must take into account the views of A. Cameron, *Circus Factions. Blues and Greens at Rome and Byzantium* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1976), esp. pp. 5-155 and 297-312.

through which the state controlled and regulated its urban economy.[6]

The circus groups as media of political activity seem to have ceased to function at the beginning of the ninth century,[7] but the trade guilds continued on, to enjoy their best period during the next two or three centuries. They survived into the last period of the empire,[8] but for this period very little, certainly insofar as their organization and their influence on the people is concerned, is known about them. Whether in fact they continued to serve, as they had done before, as a medium through which the populace could express its will, is a question which is better left open. Artisans are often mentioned, along with other elements of the population of the city, to have attended assemblies convoked by emperors.[9] But here again it is impossible to say whether these artisans were summoned as the organized members of guilds or simply as individual artisans. On one point, however, there can be no doubt at all. The trade guilds of the period of the Palaeologi were not as strictly supervised by the central administration as they had been, say, under the Macedonians. At the end of the thirteenth century, for instance, it was not officially known who were the bakers in Constantinople and how many of them there were. Nor were they supervised with the aim of assuring the quality of, and a fair price for, their products.[10] The guilds are not known,

6. On the guilds as economic and political organizations, see Vryonis, *Byzantium*, study 3, pp. 289-314: see n. 13 for the reference to the literature on the guilds. The study of Vryonis referred to, entitled: "Byzantine *Democratia* and the Guilds in the Eleventh Century," was originally published in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 17 (1963), 289-314.

7. A. Maricq, "La durée du régime des partis populaires à Constantinople," *Bulletin de l'Academie Royale de Belgique Cl. des Lettres*, 35 (1949), 63-74. Maricq's conclusion has been questioned, but this questioning, based on an interpretation of the texts, may in turn be questioned: see Jarry, p. 544. Jarry would extend the political activities of the *demes* beyond the beginning of the ninth century, but N. Oikonomides, in an unpublished paper read at the 1972 meeting of the American Historical Association, would have it stop by the end of the seventh century. But see now Cameron, *Circus Factions*, pp. 297 ff.

8. P. Charanis, "On the Social Structure and Economic Organization of the Byzantine Empire in the Thirteenth Century and Later," *Byzantinoslavica*, 12 (1951), 149 ff; and A. P. Christophilopoulos, Τὸ Ἐπαρικὸν Βιβλίον Λέοντος τοῦ Σοφοῦ καὶ αἱ συντεχνίαι ἐν Βυζαντίῳ (Athens, 1935), p. 4 and n. 2. (This book is written in modern Greek).

On the possible remnants of the Byzantine guild system in Asia Minor see S. Vryonis, Jr., *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: Univ. of California Press, 1971), pp. 401 f., and 480.

9. Nicetas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. I. Bekker, Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae (Bonn: Impensis E. Weberi, 1835), p. 631; and Cantacuzenus, III, 34.

10. Charanis, "On the Social Structure," pp. 149 ff. See now Alice-Mary M. Talbot, ed. and trans., *The Correspondence of Athanasius I Patriarch of Constantinople, Letters to the Emperor Andronicus II, Members of the Imperial Family, and Officials*, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae, Consilio Societatis Internationalis Studiis Byzantinis Provehendis Destinatae Editum, vol. III (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, 1975), ltrs. 93 and 100.

either, to have played an active role in any of the various popular demonstrations and uprisings which took place during this period. In these demonstrations individuals, in most instances, men belonging to the aristocracy, advised and led the crowd. The one notable exception is, of course, that of the mariners of Thessalonica, who played such a big role in the revolt of the Zealots in that city. But even they were led by men of the aristocracy, men most probably appointed by the government to head their organization, an organization usually regarded as a trade guild.[11]

But whether by means of the medium of the circus factions, the trade guilds, or the promptings of individuals, it was through violence or the threat of violence that the populace in Byzantium sought to express its will. Indeed the Byzantines defined *democratia,* democracy, by the violent demonstrations and outbreaks of the *demos.*[12] Nicetas Choniates would have us believe that what drove the crowd into these demonstrations was their fickleness, their simple-mindedness, their ignorance.[13] But this view simplifies the matter, for often underlying these demonstrations were issues–religious, dynastic, social–of far-reaching importance. There are, in the history of Byzantium, says Manojlović, great scenes "in which the people of Constantinople played an important and violent role and were the decisive factor in great changes."[14] Some of Manojlović's views on the factions of Constantinople, views which relate to their organization, and to their religious, social, and political orientation, have been recently questioned,[15] but there can be no doubt about the soundness of the statement just quoted.

Manojlović had in mind, of course, the great scenes of the earlier period, the great tumults of the populace during the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries, of which the best known is the *Nika* revolt of 532.[16] But similar scenes took place during subsequent periods, especially in the eleventh century and the period of the Comneni and that of the Palaeologi. The popular upheaval in 1042, which restored to the throne the descendants of Basis I after the empress Zoe had been pushed aside by Michael V, has been made

11. P. Charanis, "Internal Strife in Byzantium during the Fourteenth Century," *Byzantion,* 15 (1940-41), 313 ff.

12. G. Bratianu, "Empire et démocratie à Byzance," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift,* 37 (1937), 86 ff.; for two classical references to *democratia* in the classical sense of the term, see *idem,* "Démocratie' dans le lexique byzantin à l'époque des Paléologues," in *Mémorial Louis Petit, Mélanges d'histoire et d'archéologie byzantines,* Archives de l'orient chrétien, Vol. 1 (Bucarest: Institut Français d'Etudes Byzantines, 1948), pp. 32-45.

13. Choniates, pp. 304 f.

14. Manojlović, p. 685.

15. Jarry, pt. 2, pp. 114-27 and 157-73, but esp. by Cameron, *Circus Factions,* pp. 5-155 and 297-312.

16. For an analysis of the sources of the Nika revolt, see J. B. Bury, "The Nika Revolt," *Journal of Hellenic Studies,* 17 (1897), 92-119.

notable by Michael Psellos' vivid description of it. The crowd, says Psellos, was, by the time the news of Zoe's deposition had been spread, already "beyond control and violently excited at the idea that it was going to seize the throne from him who had usurped it."[17] The tumultuousness of this outbreak was equalled, and in some instances surpassed, by the outbreaks which occured toward the end of the period of the Comneni[18] and under the Palaeologi, especially those which took place during the fourteenth century.[19] The underlying issues of these outbreaks were also more complicated. They involved not only the imperial throne but serious social and economic problems, problems which arrayed the poor against the rich.

The upheaval of September, 1185, which led to the deposition of Andronicus I, and inflicted on him perhaps the cruelest death ever inflicted on a Byzantine emperor, is an example of the popular outbreaks during the period of the late Comneni.[20] It seems to have been accidental, without any apparent cause. But this appearance was on the surface only, for underneath was the smoldering discontent of the populace which Andronicus, despite some reforms which benefited many provincials, had not only failed to extinguish but had inflamed the outbreak by reviving what could be interpreted to be the pro-Latin policy of Manuel. This discontent burst into flames when the city was threatened by the Normans who, following the capture and sack of Thessalonica, were on the march against it.

The occasion for the outbreak was the attempt to arrest Issac Angelos, who, it was thought, might cooperate with the Normans, whose invasion of the Byzantine empire had been instigated at least in part by members of the Byzantine nobility. Isaac had killed one of the agents, a very close advisor of Andronicus, who had been sent to arrest him. But Isaac, eluding the others, had fled to Saint Sophia for safety, where he was soon joined by some members of his family. As the news of this event traveled throughout the city, a large crowd flocked to the great church, drawn out of curiosity, anticipating that Andronicus would soon seize Isaac and put him to death. But things did not work out that way. Andronicus was absent from the city and none of his agents was at the scene, a situation which helped the partisans of Isaac to win the crowd to their cause. By the next day the crowd increased considerably and became more tumultuous. A message sent by Andronicus in an effort to

17. Michael Psellos, *Chronographie, ou, Histoire d'un siècle de Byzance (976-1077)*, ed. and trans. E. Renauld, 2 vols. (Paris: Société d'édition "Les Belles Lettres," 1926-28), I, 102; and *The Chronographia of Michael Psellus*, trans. E. R. A. Sewter (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1953), p. 99.

18. In general see F. Cognasso, *Partiti politici e Lotte dinastiche in Bisanzio alla morte di Manuele Comneno* (Torino: V. Bona, 1912). See also, C. M. Brand, *Byzantium Confronts the West: 1180-1204* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1968), pp. 30-75.

19. Charanis, "Internal Strife," pp. 313 ff.; and Weiss, pp. 78 ff.

20. Choniates, pp. 444-52; Cognasso, pp. 312-16; and Brand, pp. 68-73.

calm them had no effect, and when he finally decided to return to the capital and take charge of the situation himself it was too late. The crowd had broken into Saint Sophia and literally forced a reluctant Isaac to accept the crown. The crowd included many artisans, for among the weapons which they carried during the last phases of the demonstration were numerous tools from workshops of the city. And so it was that Isaac became emperor, chosen for the office not by the senate, not by the army, not by a reigning emperor, but by the people. This was the first time in the history of Byzantium that the people alone successfully deposed one emperor whom they had helped to make and replaced him by another.

Equally significant, if not more so, as an index of the role of the people in the politics of the Byzantine Empire, are the popular upheavals which took place during the period of the Palaeologi, the most tumultuous of which occurred in the fifth decade of the fourteenth century. The occasion for these uprisings was the proclamation of John Kantakouzenos to the throne, a proclamation which was immediately supported by the landed magnates and instantly opposed by the populace. Thus, the struggle for the throne became from the beginning a struggle between the rich and the poor and rent asunder virtually every city of the empire, including the capital. The first popular uprising, instigated by the laborer Branos, took place in Adrianople on 27 October 1341, but it was not long before every city in Thrace and eastern Macedonia was affected. "The entire Roman Empire," writes Kantakouzenos himself, "was given to a much more (than in Adrianople) savage and grievous strife. . . . The people were ready to revolt at the slightest pretext and dared the most terrible deeds, for they hated the rich for their bad treatment of them during peacetime and now hoped, above all, to seize their property, which was great. . . . The sedition spread throughout the Roman empire like a malignant and terrible disease . . . all the cities in common rebelled against the nobles."[21]

The strife and conflict, which had affected every city of the empire, was greater and more violent in Thessalonica, next to the capital the most important city of the empire. There a party called the Zealots, supported by the general populace and more specifically by the mariners who had their own organization–virtually free from any external control–seized the city.[22]

21. Cantacuzenus, II, 177-79.

22. Charanis, "Internal Strife," pp. 313-15; I. Ševčenko, "The Zealot Revolution and the Supposed Genoese Colony in Thessalonica," Προσφόρα εἰς Στίλπωνα Π. Κυριακίδην ἐπι τῇ εἰκοσιπενταετηρίδι τῆς καθηγεσίας αὐτοῦ *(1926-1951)*, Ἑλληνικά. Παράρτημ 4 (Thessaloniki: Ἑταιρεία Μακεδονικῶν Σπουδῶν, 1953), pp. 603-17; Weiss, pp. 86-103. For additional references, especially to the works of Ševčenko on the so-called Anti-Zealot Discourse of Cabasilas," see Charanis in *Revue des Etudes Sud-Est Européennes,* 9 (1971), 369-76.

The revolt broke out in the summer of 1342, provoked by an attempt of the partisans of Kantakouzenos to turn the city over to him. The populace, led by the Zealots, drove the governor of Thessalonica and about one thousand of the aristocracy, all supporters of Kantakouzenos, out of the city, seized control of it, and installed as archon Michael Palaeologus, one of their leaders. A new crisis was precipitated in 1345 when remaining members of the aristocracy made an attempt to overthrow the Zealots and return Thessalonica to Kantakouzenos. They assassinated Michael Palaeologus and in due time opened negotiations with Kantakouzenos, which provoked a second, more violent, upheaval among the people.

The leadership in the second upheaval was taken by Andrew Palaeologus, who, though a member of the aristocracy, headed the organization of the mariners, the most powerful and turbulent element of the population. Andrew Palaeologus himself appealed to the mariners, while others among the Zealots harangued the people in general. The result was a tumultuous uprising and a veritable scene of carnage. About a hundred nobles, including the imperial governor of the city, were slaughtered in cold blood. It was a general attack of the poor against the rich. "Here," says Kydonis, "the servant pushed the master, there, the slave him who had bought him. The rustic dragged the general, and the peasant the soldier."[23] The result of this bloody popular uprising was the re-establishment of the regime of the Zealots.

Contemporaries had difficulty in describing the Zealot regime of Thessalonica. The historian Gregoras, unable to fit it into any of the constitutions of antiquity, called it simply "a strange ochlocracy brought about and directed by chance."[24] Its leaders were demagogues, whose principal objective was the confiscation of the property of the rich. In reality what the Zealot revolution achieved in Thessalonica was the establishment of a popular regime virtually independent of any outside authority. The new regime introduced new laws while it discarded some old ones. Some connection with Constantinople was maintained, for the latter was represented by an imperial governor, but his powers were only nominal, for even the orders of the emperor were often disregarded. Thessalonica under the Zealots was an independent republic. This republic was liquidated in 1349 when the city was surrendered to Kantakouzenos. The aristocracy was back in control, but Thessalonica remained to the very end of its Byzantine period a scene of intense social tension, where the danger of some upheaval by the populace was ever present.

During the period of the Comneni and the Palaeologi two tendencies made their appearance, tendencies which on the surface promised to make possible

23. Demetrius Kydonis, *Monodia Occisorum Thessalonicae*, in Migne, *Patralogiae cursus completus, series graeca*, CIX, col. 648.

24. Nicephorus Gregoras, *Byzantina Historia*, ed. L. Schopen, Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae, 3 vols. (Bonn: Impensis E. Weberi, 1829-55), II, 795.

the expression of the will of the people in a peaceful and institutionalized way: (1) The emperors' calling of assemblies from time to time in which the common people were included; and (2) the granting of greater autonomy to cities.

There are indications of the development of the institution of the assembly[25] as early as the last quarter of the eleventh century, when Alexius Comnenus, then only a military commander, summoned the people of Amaseia and urged them to contribute the funds he needed to pay the Turk, Tutach, who had captured for him Roussel of Bailleul, the Norman adventurer who almost did in Asia Minor, create an independent Norman state, what Robert Guiscard, another Norman adventurer, succeeded in doing in southern Italy. Alexius' proposal aroused considerable opposition, even the danger of a popular revolt, but Alexius finally succeeded in having the people contribute willingly the funds which he needed.[26] To what extent the common people were included in this assembly is not quite clear, but the institution as it developed in the course of the twelfth century and during the period of the Palaeologi often included them in addition to the upper elements of society.

The assemblies convoked by emperors were held only on speical occasions and the problems put before them were problems of the immediate moment. A number of such assemblies are known, but there is no need to cite and analyze every one of them; one or two examples will suffice.

The first of these assemblies offered here as an example is that of 1197, convoked by Alexius III in his effort to raise funds to meet the danger that the ambition of Henry IV, the German emperor and King of Sicily, posed for the Byzantine Empire.[27] Among the people called were, besides the senate and the clergy, the merchants, and the artisans of the city. The proposal put

25. On the assembly, as it evolved during the period of the Comneni and the Palaeologi, see C. P. Kyrris, "Gouvernés et gouvernants à Byzance pendant la révolution des Zélotes (1341-1350)," in *Gouvernés et gouvernants,* Recuells de la Société Jean Bodin pour l'histoire comparative des institutions, t. 22 and 23 (Bruxelles: Editions de la Librairie encyclopédique, 1968-), pp. 271-330; *idem,* "The Political Organization of the Byzantine Urban Classes between 1204-1341," in *Liber Memorialis Antonio Dell'Era* (Bruxelles: Editions d'Art Corten, 1963), pp. 21-31; Charanis, "On the Social Structure," pp. 148 ff.; and Beck, pp. 62 ff. On the other hand, the assembly of this period is ignored completely by G. I. Bratianu, *"Les assemblées d'états en Europe orientale au moyen âge et l'influence du régime politique byzantin"* in *Actes du VIe Congrès international d'Etudes byzantines* (Paris: Ecole des Hautes Etudes Sorbonne, 1950), pp. 35-56. There were assemblies, of course, during the early periods, but their function was to acclaim or to participate in ceremonials not, as was the case of the assemblies of the later period, to receive specific proposals.

26. Anna Comnena, *Alexiade,* ed. and trans. by B. Leib, 3 vols. (Paris. "Les Belles Lettres," 1937-45), I, 13; and *The Alexiad of the Princess Anna Comnena, Being the History of the Reign of Her Father, Alexius I, Emperor of the Romans, 1081-1118 A.D.,* trans. by Elizabeth A. S. Dawes (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, and Trubner, 1928), p. 10.

27. Choniates, p. 631.

before them—that they should make contributions from their own possessions in order to meet the demands of the German emperor—raised bitter opposition and the danger of a popular revolt. The emperor, therefore, dissolved the assembly and sought to raise the necessary funds in a different, most curious way: he opened the graves of former emperors and seized whatever treasures had been buried there.

No better was the outcome of the other assembly, which was called by the Emperor John Kantakouzenos in 1347 in an attempt to ameliorate the financial conditions of the empire. This assembly, in the words of Kantakouzenos himself, represented every level of life among the citizens of Byzantium,[28] for among those summoned were the merchants and soldiers, some artisans, and not a few from the people *(demos)*; also included were the heads of monasteries and the principal leaders among the clergy. The senators are not mentioned, but their presence may be taken for granted. Kantakouzenos took the floor and, in a fashion reminiscent of the city assemblies of Greek classical antiquity, sought to arouse the patriotism of his listeners. He reminded them of the former greatness of the empire and then described in some detail the dangers in which it now found itself. He had hoped thereby to affect them in such a way that they would come forward and voluntarily contribute the funds needed to face these dangers. A number of others also spoke, expressing similar sentiments. That Kantakouzenos, in following this procedure, sought consciously to emulate the traditions of the ancients cannot, of course, be stated as a fact, but he did know Thucydides. The assembly did not achieve what Kantakouzenos had hoped.[29]

It is not quite clear what the composition of assemblies convoked by emperors was, in terms of comprehensiveness, i.e., whether or not they included all the people belonging to the various elements of the population. In the assembly of 1197 it appears that all the senators, clergy, merchants, and artisans were included. In the assembly of 1347 this does not seem to have been the case. The merchants and the soldiers were there, but only some artisans, not a few of the people *(demos)*, and the principals among the clergy, besides the heads of monasteries, are mentioned as having participated. In general it may be supposed that only the prominent among the various classes convoked were summoned to such assemblies. But what constituted this prominence, especially as it affected the *demos*? Who, in fact, were those of the *demos* who attended the assembly?[30] No definite answer can be given. It is

28. Cantacuzenus, II, 34.

29. But compare the results of another assembly summoned by Kantakouzenos. There the issue was also money; the response, however, was more favorable: see Gregoras, II, 845 ff.

30. In the assembly called in 1348, those summoned to attend were the senators and the wiser among the *demos*. *Demos* here is used apparently in a more comprehensive sense to include all the people of Constantinople, except the senators: Gregoras, II, 846.

interesting to note, however, that the *demos* here is distinguished from the merchants and the artisans. It may be urged, therefore, that the merchants and the artisans specifically summoned were among the wealthy, while the small merchants and artisans were included in the *demos*.

The Byzantine cities of the period of the Comneni and the Palaeologi, indeed of any period, were dominated by the *archontes*, the landed magnates whose possessions were located in the neighboring countryside. Some big merchants were also included among them. The populace, to be sure, was not ignored, but it was expected to conform. Thus in 1341, the *archontes* of Andrianople convoked an assembly of the inhabitants of the city, including the populace, and announced the elevation of Kantakouzenos to the throne. They had themselves already declared for him and expected the populace to follow suit. But instead of approval and support, there were murmurs of revolt and even open denunciation against Kantakouzenos. Those who had dared to speak openly against Kantakouzenos were insulted and whipped. The popular upheaval organized secretly, to which reference has already been made, soon followed. In Verrhoia, two years later (1343), the populace, informed of the matter, followed the *archontes* in surrendering the city to Kantakouzenos. The same occured in Vizye a year later. In general, therefore, despite the danger of the opposing force that the populace might, and often did, exert, the power and influence of the *archontes* shaped the political life of the Byzantine city of this period. As a result, imperial authority over it was reduced and its autonomy increased.[31] The city of Jannina in 1317 illustrates this trend.

The imperial document issued in favor of Jannina in 1317 included the following: a guarantee that the city would never be ceded to the Franks; a guarantee that the imperial governor of Jannina would never move and resettle elsewhere any of the citizens of Jannina against their will, unless they were the cause of public disorder; a provision for the election by the citizens of judges who would act together with the imperial governor and would judge all cases except those subject to the ecclesiastical courts; a grant of freedom of trade throughout the empire without the payment of the commercial taxes; a guarantee that the citizens of Jannina, unless they were enrolled soldiers and held *economiae* for that purpose, would not be forced to serve in the army outside their own city; exemption from certain land taxes and corvees, and finally, a provision for the right to appeal to the emperor if any of

31. On the *archontes* as the dominant element of the population of the Byzantine cities and the growth of autonomy, see P. Charanis, "Town and Country in the Byzantine Possessions of the Balkan Peninsula During the Later Period of the Empire," in *Aspects of the Balkans: Continuity and Change. Contributions to the International Balkan Conference Held at UCLA, October 23-28, 1969*, ed. H. Birnbaum and S. Vryonis, Jr. (The Hague: Mouton, 1972), pp. 134-37.

the privileges were violated by the imperial governor of Jannina. For all practical purposes Jannina had become, by means of this document, virtually independent.

To the very end of the Byzantine Empire, violence remained the basic way whereby the populace could in reality express its will. The assembly convoked by emperors or other officials and the growth of autonomy among the cities might have served to promote the democratization of Byzantine society. But both the assembly and autonomy were in fact signs not of strength, but of weakness, the weakness not of one individual—say a weak emperor—but the weakness of Byzantine society as a whole. For they presupposed no new conditions of life, implying some new internal vigorous activity, nor were they underlined by some new ideology which looked at society with different eyes than those of the past. They were, instead, the products of the process of disintegration which contributed to that process until finally Byzantine society ceased to exist.

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Nicholas Cabasilas Chamaëtos and His Discourse on Abuses Committed by Authorities Against Sacred Things

Nicholas Chamaëtos, more commonly known by his mother's maiden name of Cabasilas, was highly regarded by his contemporaries for his learning and integrity. While modern scholars also hold him in esteem, they must admit that they know little about the facts of his life and that they have had difficulty in understanding some of his writings.[1] The reason for much of this derives from a confusion of Nicholas with his maternal uncle Neil. In fact, this was pointed out long ago by the Austrian librarian Daniel de Nessel in a note to *cod. Vindob. theol. gr. 210:* " . . . agitur de *Nilo*, archiepiscopo Thessalonicensi, *Nicolai* hujus *avunculo*, qui a plerisque perperam cum ipso *Nicolao* confunditur."[2] This confusion has arisen because the uncle's baptismal name seems to have been Nicholas, whereas Neil was the name he assumed on becoming a monk sometime between 1354 and 1360. It was the uncle, then, still known as Nicholas, who was a candidate for the patriarchate in 1353 and who, with his name changed to Neil, was named metropolitan of Thessalonica in 1360-61.[3]

The main facts in the life of the nephew, Nicholas Cabasilas Chamaëtos, have now been established and generally agreed on by scholars.[4] He was born about 1320-23 in Thessalonica, studied there and in Constantinople, belonged to the entourage of John Cantacuzenus, had some connection with the legal profession, delivered formal orations, composed various treatises.

1. See the bibliographical references in G. T. Dennis, S. J. *The Letters of Manuel II Palaeologus*, Dumbarton Oaks Texts, IV, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae, Consilio Societatis Internationalis Studiis Byzantinae Provehendis Destinatae Editum, vol. VIII (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, Trustees for Harvard University, 1977), pp. xxx-xxxiv. Cf. also A. A. Angelopoulos, Νικόλαος Καβάσιλας Χαμαέτος. Ἡ ζωὴ καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ. Ἀνάλεκτα Βλατάδων, 5 (Thessaloniki: Πατριαρχικὸν Ἱδρύμα Πατερικῶν Μελετῶν, 1970); P. Charanis, "Observations on the 'Anti-Zealot' Discourse of Cabasilas," *Revue des Etudes sud-est européenes*, 9 (1971), 369-76; and H. Müller-Asshoff, "Beobachtungen an den Hauptschriften des Gregorios Palamas und Nikolaos Kabasilas," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 70 (1977), 22-41.

2. *Catalogus Bibliothecae Caesareae manuscriptorum codicum theologicorum* (Vienna, 1690), p. 308.

3. Dennis, *Letters of Manuel II*, p. xxx. That the uncle's baptismal name was Nicholas was first suggested by R. J. Loenertz, quoted in L. Thomas's review of N. B. Tomadakes, Ὁ Ἰωσὴφ Βρυέννιος καὶ Κρήτη κατὰ τὸ *1400* . . . , in *Revue des Etudes Byzantines*, 6 (1948), 117-21.

4. Dennis, *Letters of Manuel II*, p. xxxi.

and died sometime in the 1390s. We know some of his friends from his own correspondence and from that of Joseph Bryennios, Demetrius Cydones, and Manuel Palaeologus. He was staunchly Orthodox and pro-Palamite; although deeply religious, there is no clear evidence that he ever became a monk.[5]

It has taken scholars a long time to compile accurate biographical data on Nicholas, and it has also taken them a long time to interpret some of his writings correctly. Several of the eighteen letters of his edited in 1953 were erroneously dated and understood, but corrections have been made, and the text and comprehension of the letters improved.[6] A brief oration of his, "To the Athenians Concerning the Altar of Mercy," was not, as R. Guilland pointed out, simply a rhetorical exercise, but dealt with a contemporary, although unspecified, problem.[7]

The most important reinterpretation of his writing is that by Ihor Ševčenko of Nicholas' *Discourse on Abuses Committed by Authorities Against Sacred Things*. As far back as 1882 C. N. Sathas published some excerpts from the *Discourse*, and in 1913 O. Tafrali added to them and made use of them to prove that the *Discourse* was directed against the Zealot regime in Thessalonica during the 1340s and that it provided us with information about the Zealot movement and program. During the next forty years almost everyone who dealt with the subject in any way adopted, or sometimes expanded, the views of Tafrali. In 1957 Ševčenko edited the entire *Discourse* and proved beyond a doubt that it had nothing whatsoever to do with the Zealot regime or program.[8] That was, as he clearly stated, his main point. He also made one suggestion about those to whom the *Discourse* was directed, to which we shall return.

The main point established by Ševčenko, that the *Discourse* had nothing to do with the Zealots, was readily accepted by most scholars. The very few who disagreed seem to have been prompted by considerations of ideology,

5. He may have acquired an ἀδελφάτον in a monastery, as did Demetrius Cydones, which would have given him a certain share in the life of the monks. At some point he may have wavered in his Orthodoxy, for a curious letter from his uncle Neil cautions him lest his actions bring him "to stand with the enemies of Christ." Ed. S. Lambros, Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων, 2 (1905), 305-06.

6. See R. J. Loenertz, "Chronologie de Nicholas Cabasilas, 1345-1354," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 21 (1955), 205-31; I. Ševčenko, "Nicolaus Cabasilas' Correspondence and the Treatment of Late Byzantine Literary Texts," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 47 (1954), 49-59; and Dennis, *Letters of Manuel II*, pp. xxxiii-xxxiv.

7. "Le Traité inédit 'sur l'usure' de Nicolas Cabasilas," in ΕΙΣ ΜΝΗΜΗΝ Σπυριδῶνος Λάμπρου (Athinai: Ἐπιτρόπη ἐκδόσεως τῶν καταλοίπων Σπυριδῶνος Λάμπρου, 1935), pp. 269-77; it has been edited by Angelopoulos, see above, fn. 1.

8. I. Ševčenko, "Nicholas Cabasilas' 'Anti-Zealot' Discourse: A Reinterpretation," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 11 (1957), 79-171, which gives references to previous literature. Citations from the *Discourse* follow Ševčenko's edition.

or perhaps salary, and not by serious research. In 1962 Ševčenko examined their criticisms of his interpretation of the *Discourse* and found, quite rightly, that none of them adduced any new information or invalidated his principle conclusion.[9] Since then there has been general agreement among scholars that the *Discourse* has nothing to do with the Zealots in Thessalonica.[10]

Against whom was the *Discourse* directed? Who were the authorities attacked by Cabasilas? The title informs us that the *Discourse* is concerned with abuses committed in sacred matter by authorities. It deals with two types of abuses and two types of authorities. The first sort of abuse is committed by civil authorities, the prime example of which is the secularization of church property. The second is committed by ecclesiastical authorities, and consists of such acts as simony. The term used by Cabasilas, *archontes*, is a very general one applicable to authorities or officials of all sorts and ranks. Discussions of the *Discourse* have sought to identify these authorities. The suggestion, and it was no more than that, first made by Ševčenko in 1957 was that the *Discourse* attacked the Loyalist authorities in Constantinople in the early 1340s, especially Alexios Apocaucus, and either metropolitan Hyacinth of Thessalonica or Patriarch John Calecas.[11] The present writer very tentatively suggested that the *Discourse* may have been written in the 1370s or 1380s and that Cabasilas may have had officials of Manuel II Palaeologus in mind.[12] This was accepted as a reasonable suggestion, and it seemed to receive confirmation in the fact that the watermarks of an earlier version of the *Discourse* belonged to the last thirty years of the fourteenth century.[13] In addition, the writing itself does not impress the reader as that of a young man, as was Cabasilas in the 1340s, but that of a more mature mind. As matters now stand, then, there appears to be a consensus among

9. "A Postscript on Nicolas Cabasilas' 'Anti-Zealot' Discourse," *ibid.*, 16 (1962), 403-08.

10. See K. P. Matschke, *Fortschritt und Reaktion in Byzanz im 14. Jahrhundert. Konstantinopel in der Bürgerkriegsperiode von 1341 bis 1354*, Berliner byzantinistische Arbeiten, Bd. 42 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1971), p. 32. The only one who still seems to attribute the *Discourse* to the Zealot movement is C. P. Kyrris, "Gouvernés et gouvernants à Byzance pendant la revolution des Zélotes (1341-1350)," in *Gouvernés et Gouvernants*, Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin pour l'histoire comparative des institutions, t. 22 (Bruxelles: Editions de la Librairie encyclopédique, 1969-), II, 271-330: see the very charitable review of this by G. Weiss in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 64 (1971), 377-78.

11. Ševčenko, "Anti-Zealot Discourse," pp. 163-69.

12. G. T. Dennis, *The Reign of Manuel II Paleologus in Thessalonica, 1382-1387*, Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 159 (Roma; Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1960), p. 91, n. 30.

13. I. Ševčenko, "The Author's Draft of Nicolas Cabasilas' 'Anti-Zealot' Discourse in *Parisinus graecus 1276*," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 14 (1960), pp. 179-201; *idem*, "A Postscript," *ibid.*, pp. 405-07; and P. Charanis's review of G. T. Dennis, S. J., *The Reign of Manuel II Palaeologus . . .*, in *Speculum*, 36 (1961), 476-77.

scholars that the *Discourse* was probably written in the last three decades of the fourteenth century, but, as Ševčenko concludes, none can say exactly when, where, or against whom it was written.[14]

This article contends that we may have been asking the wrong questions. First, we need not waste time asking exactly when and where the work was composed. Nothing in the text affords a solid clue to enable us to date it; nothing in the text connects the treatise with Thessalonica, Constantinople, or any other place. In particular, we do not need to ask against whom the *Discourse* was directed. The abuses committed by civil and religious leaders which the *Discourse* condemns had been going on for a long, long time, and were so common, especially in the fourteenth century, that it is impossible to be precise.[15] Another point to bear in mind is that the *Discourse* is a piece of rhetoric, forensic rhetoric in format, but still rhetoric, and one need not take every word literally. After rereading the text, it seems clear to this writer that the *Discourse* was not directed against any specific individuals.

The title, probably added by the author, succinctly describes the content of the treatise.[16] It is directed against abuses committed in dealing with sacred things by the authorities. It is difficult to convey in one word the implications of the term *archontes*. For Cabasilas it designates persons legitimately invested with authority. He does not contest the legality of their authority, but he is concerned that they may use it improperly. He is talking about two groups of authorities, those who exercise jurisdiction in the civil or secular sphere and those whose jurisdiction is ecclesiastical. The only thing they have in common is that they possess lawful power which they abuse, and they do so in dealing with sacred things. The term, τὰ ἱερά, sacred matter, sacred things, denotes primarily the sacraments; then it refers to the chalices, plate, altars, church buildings, and other material furnishings necessary for or connected with the sacraments. But Cabasilas employs it in a broad sense, too broad, for he includes monastic property and private possessions of the clergy.

Cabasilas begins his *Discourse* by explaining whom he is addressing and for what purpose (§ 1-3). He then summarizes the arguments of his adversaries, first those of the secular authorities and then those of the religious (§ 4-9). The bulk of the *Discourse* is taken up with a detailed refutation of each one of their arguments, the secular (§ 10-32) and the religious (§ 33-59). A summary paragraph (§ 60) concludes the treatise.

14. Ševčenko, "A Postscript," p. 407; also see Charanis, "Observations."

15. Ševčenko also seems to have been thinking along these lines: "Anti-Zealot Discourse," pp. 144-46, and 153.

16. In the *cod. Paris. gr. 1276* the title is given as Πρὸς τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἐξουσίαις. But it has been added by a later hand. See Ševčenko, "The Author's Draft," p. 191.

From the beginning Cabasilas stresses that he is denouncing abuses of authority. But, of course, in attacking abuses, one can scarcely avoid touching the men who commit the abuses. Still, he does not want to be too harsh; he does not want to alienate his audience. He tries to soften his blows as much as possible. First, he includes in his lengthy indictment a wide variety of transgressions. The culpable authorities will not feel they have been singled out, but will at least find themselves in a large and distinguished company. Cabasilas divides the authorities into two categories. There are those who do evil knowingly and deliberately; they are beyond help or correction; their case is hopeless. And so he will not waste any time at all on them, but will leave them to the judgment of God. Obviously, very few persons will admit they fall into this category. It is to the other group that he speaks, to those "who want to be good and just in every respect, but who act unlawfully because they have been deceived by specious reasoning." (§ 1) They "would be willing to do anything rather than intentionally transgress the law." (§ 3) These authorities are reasonable and willing to listen; they simply need instruction. "They are not ashamed to learn, and if someone should teach them what is to be avoided, they are not ashamed or resentful, but they look on it as an act of kindness." (§ 3) If they have committed any unlawful acts, they have done so because they did not realize they were unlawful. It should be enough to explain matters to them and to enlighten their minds. This is exactly what Cabasilas proposes to do. He does not set out to reprimand or castigate them; he intends simply to teach them. Then he goes a step further to gain the good will of these authorities. He makes it clear that he is not criticizing the authorities themselves or blaming them directly for their unlawful conduct. His criticism and his arguments are directed past them against others (§ 2). He places the blame on their counsellors, perhaps also their spiritual directors, who have misled them. It is these advisors whom he debates, presumably theologians, moralists, jurists, who defend the actions of the authorities. In the *Discourse* Cabasilas refutes the arguments which these persons advance. He moves the debate off center; he takes away from the authorities some of the responsibility for their actions and places it on their advisors and defenders.[17]

Once this is clear, it becomes less important to try to identify the authorities envisioned by the speaker. It is also idle to speculate on the identity of their defenders, for Cabasilas is concerned with refuting their arguments, and does not mention their names. We do not even know whether any of

17. In 1383 Metropolitan Isidore Glabas of Thessalonica attacked certain men who were advising Manuel II Palaeologus to confiscate church property, but Isidore had some practical, political problems to face, and spoke on a plane somewhat less lofty than Cabasilas: Dennis, S. J. *The Reign of Manuel II*, p. 89.

these theorists committed their views to writing at this time; at any rate, it seems that no treatise of theirs has survived. Some years later, however, George Gemistos Plethon would become their spokesman.[18]

As already mentioned, the first set of abuses which Cabasilas describes are those committed by civil authorities, and he is particularly concerned with the secularization of church property. The *Discourse* supposes that confiscations of monastic and other ecclesiastical property and the granting of such in *πρόνοια*, or otherwise using them for military purposes, was frequent. Indeed, other sources for the period make it clear that property belonging to religious institutions was frequently taken and given to the military nobility or the income used to build or repair walls, furnish ships, and the like. The *Discourse* also makes it clear that these confiscations found advocates among theologians and jurists. They were numerous enough that Cabasilas believed he had to write a treatise to refute their arguments. His purpose is to prove that these theorists are wrong, and in this way to explain the laws and to enlighten the minds and consciences of the civil authorities who carried out these confiscations. Strictly speaking, only an emperor or a sovereign despot, as in Mistra, or perhaps a governor to whom they delegated such authority, could perform such actions. The *Discourse* is not meant to be an attack on a ruler, but is intended as an instruction, a gentle bit of advice, a benevolent exhortation. It may well be that the emperor, who is one of the authorities in question, was a friend of Cabasilas who might welcome this advice. In other words, Cabasilas may simply be providing the emperor (or other authority) with arguments against those advising him to secularize church property.

Cabasilas makes certain that the civil rulers are not the only ones criticized. He devotes about half of his *Discourse* to denouncing the actions of certain churchmen. Again, it seems clear that he is not concerned with a specific individual. He is concerned with abuses which had plagued the Byzantine church for a very long time. As is also clear, they were abuses of the sort which might be committed by any metropolitan, including the patriarch of Constantinople. He does not seem to single out the patriarch at all. The term, "common shepherd" (§ 8), can apply to the metropolitan in his territory as well as to the patriarch in the empire. The prelate had sworn to observe the laws; he had "called upon God and the whole assembly of elders to witness" (§ 38). In fact, a newly elected bishop did not swear an oath, which was strictly forbidden to all clerics, but he made a written profession of faith and a promise to observe the canons, and his signature on

18. For example see Plethon's *Memorials to Despot Theodore II and Emperor Manuel II*, ed. S. Lampros, Παλαιολόγεια καὶ Πελοποννησιακά, 4 vols. (Athinai: Ἐπιτρόπη Ἐκδοσέως τῶν καταλοίπων Σπυριδῶνος Λάμπρου, 1912-30), III, 257-59 and IV, 125.

that document was regarded as having the force of an oath.[19] Generally this profession of faith and promise was made by the newly elected metropolitan in the presence of the holy synod, and by a newly elected patriarch also in the presence of the senate.[20] The assembly of elders (γερουσία), as used by a rhetorician such as Cabasilas, is difficult to specify. If by it he means the senate, then we may have to do with the election of a patriarch. The term can also mean the advisors of an abbot (or πρῶτος of Mount Athos).[21] It can also mean, as it probably does in this context, the patriarchal or holy synod, the permanent synod composed of the leading metropolitans.[22] Cabasilas, though, is not attacking a specific prelate any more than a specific secular lord. As with the others, he concentrates on refuting the arguments of those who defend the actions of prelates which he considers wrong.

In some respects this is the same sort of composition as his *Treatise Against Usurers.*[23] In that Cabasilas points out the evils of usury, which he condemns as sinful and illegal; he presents the arguments of the usurers and refutes them. He is concerned with debating the issues and not attacking individuals, and indeed, it is almost impossible to pick out any specific allusions to time, place, or persons.

To sum it up, the *Discourse* of Cabasilas is concerned with unlawful acts in connection with sacred matter, primarily the secularization of church

19. Some aspects of the procedure are not clear. In general, see J. Darrouzès, *Recherches sur les ὀφφίκια de l'église byzantine*, Archives de l'Orient chrétien, 11 (Paris: Institut français d'études byzantines, 1970), pp. 443-50; *idem, Documents inédits d'écclésiologie byzantine*, Archives de l'orient chrétien, 10 (Paris: Institut français d'études byzantines, 1966), pp. 5-20; V. Laurent, "Le Trisépiscopat du patriarche Matthieu Ier (1397-1410). Un grand procès canonique à Byzance au début du XVe siècle," *Revue des Etudes Byzantines*, 30 (1972), 98; and A. Failler, "La Déposition du patriarche Calliste Ier (1353)," *ibid.*, 31 (1973), 127-28.

20. Darrouzès, *Recherches*, p. 474; *idem*, "Εκθέσις νέα. Manuel des πιττάκια du XIVe siècle," *Revue des Etudes Byzantines*, 27 (1969), 78-79; V. Laurent, "Le Rituel de l'investiture du patriarche byzantin au début du XVe siècle," *Bulletin de l'Académie roumaine*, 28 (1947), 218-32.

21. *Démétrius Cydonès Correspondance*, ed. R.-J. Loenertz, Studi e Testi, 208 (Vatican: Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 1956-), II, 96, 35; P. Meyer, *Die Haupturkunden für die Geschichte der Athosklöster* (Leipzig: Hinrich, 1894), p. 169; see H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*, Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, 12 Abt. (München: Beck, 1959), p. 132.

22. Gelasius Cyzicenus, *Historia ecclesiastica*, in *Patrologiae cursus completus, series graeco-latina* [hereafter *PG*], ed. J. P. Migne. 161 vols. in 166 (Paris: Lutetial, 1857-66), LXXXV, col. 1293D; Ioannes Tzetzes, *Epistulae*, ed. P. A. M. Leone, Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1972), pp. 40, 18; 155, 15; and 172, 18; and Anne Comnène, *Alexiade (règne de l'empereur Alexis I Comnène, 1081-1118)*. . . , ed. and trans. B. Leib, 3 vols., Collection byzantin, pub. sous le patronage de l'Association Guillaume Budé (Paris: Société d'édition "Les Belles Lettres," 1937-43), 15, 6: III, 221.

23. *PG*, CL, cols. 727-50. His address to Anne of Savoy on usury (see n. 7, *supra*) deals with a specific law in specific circumstances.

property and simony, which have been committed by persons invested with legitimate authority, but who misuse that authority. Cabasilas supposes that their actions are due not to bad will, but to error or ignorance, and he sets out to enlighten them. To this end he refutes the arguments of those theoreticians who attempt to justify such acts, which Cabasilas regards as contrary to the divine law and the canons of the church. Whatever we might now think of church property and the state, to Cabasilas it was a serious matter which affected one's eternal salvation. The preoccupations of Cabasilas are not political or mercenary, but of a higher intellectual and moral order, more along the lines of what we might expect from the commentator on the liturgy and the author of *Life in Christ*. He is concerned with canonical and theological arguments, and not with any specific adversaries.

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A Fresh Look at Bulgaria under Tsar Peter (927-69)

Scholars have all agreed that following Symeon's death in 927 Bulgaria underwent a major decline under his son and successor, Peter, who is generally depicted as being weak and incapable.[1] I want to examine this general view of Bulgarian society under Peter and to show that this view is entirely hypothetical. No sources support such a view, and it is perfectly possible to construct other models that are contrary to it and equally–if not more–plausible.

We are regularly told that after Symeon's wars with Byzantium and his other neighbors, Bulgaria was war-torn, financially exhausted and had suffered great losses of manpower. Though this might be true, we do not *know* this, and it seems to me that it is probably a great exaggeration. Except for the devastating Magyar raids of the 890s (some thirty years before Peter's accession), Bulgaria itself was not successfully attacked or ravaged by invaders at any point in Symeon's reign. And in the thirty years after the 890s fields, animals and population could recover, and they evidently did since Symeon was able to carry out his wars between 913 and 927 so effectively. Thus, in almost all of Symeon's wars Bulgarians were fighting on foreign soil. In general, the battles fought were raids and sieges which generally do not lead to great losses in manpower. There were few pitched battles (Anchialo in 917 which was a great Bulgarian victory and the unsuccessful invasion of Croatia in 926). Surely men were lost, but the wars were fought over a fourteen-year period (913-27) during which time a new generation was replacing the lost men. The only defeat of any magnitude, that by the Croatians in 926, did not lead to a Croatian invasion of Bulgaria. Peace was quickly made. And though men were lost, the losses were only a portion of the overall army since Symeon was ready to march against Byzantium again the next year. Thus, the overall manpower losses in Symeon's wars were probably not that serious. Nor can we be sure that Bulgaria was financially exhausted; possibly Symeon collected high taxes, but the campaigns also brought in great booty. No one knows the balance between his "budgetary" needs and the amount gained in

1. The general picture of Peter's reign which I summarize below can be found in many places. See, e.g., V. N. Zlatarski, *История на Българската държава през средните векове*. 3 vols in 4 pts. (rpt. Sofiia: Издателство наука и изкуство, 1971), I, pt. 2, 518-42; R. Browning, *Byzantium and Bulgaria: A Comparative Study Across the Early Medieval Frontier* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: Univ. of California Press, 1975), pp. 67-69.

booty. Possibly the state profited, and if profits from war were high, possibly taxes on the Bulgarian population were low. However, we know nothing about taxes under Symeon. And since we are ignorant of this and since the state could have been drawing a high percentage of its financial needs from beyond its borders, we cannot assume a financially exhausted Bulgaria. Thus, the model that we have rejected should not be used, as it generally is, to show popular dissatisfaction to set the scene for a dismal period of decline under Peter and for the rise of the Bogomil heresy during Peter's reign.

Next under Peter we are regularly given a picture of social and economic decay, crises, social antagonisms, rise of the feudal aristocracy, growth of large estates (both clerical and secular), rivalry between these two landholding groups, increase of peasant bondage to the soil, increased Byzantine influence through Peter's Byzantine wife, Maria Lecapena, and her entourage (who were supposedly resented) and the development of the heretical religious sect of the Bogomils. The sect is real and so, probably, is the increase in Church landholding. In addition, Peter did take the Byzantine wife, so quite possibly there was an increase of Byzantine influence at court (though how widespread such influence was elsewhere is not known). However, everything else that I have listed is purely hypothetical.

What do we know about Peter's reign? Sadly, almost nothing. He acquired the throne on the death of his father, Symeon, in 927 and found himself strongly under the influence of his mother's brother, George Sursuvul. They naturally feared that with Symeon gone all their unfriendly neighbors (Byzantium, Croatia and the Magyars) would gang up on them. At the same time an attack of locusts had caused a major crop failure. It was decided to attack Byzantium, and then from strength as a result of this offensive to negotiate peace. This was done, and peace was concluded. Peter received recognition of his title Emperor of the Bulgarians while the head of the Bulgarian church was recognized as a patriarch, and Peter received the Emperor Romanus' granddaughter, Maria, for a bride. We then hear of two revolts over the next two-three years led by a brother and a half-brother of Peter. These revolts both fizzle out quickly, and after that we have no more details about Bulgarian events (except for the Bogomils) or Peter's state until the mid-960s when war breaks out again with Byzantium.[2]

2. The sources on Peter's first years all convey the same information which I have summarized in the preceding paragraph. The only matter discussed in any detail is the wedding ceremony between Maria and Peter. See Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographia*, VI. 21-23 and 28-29, Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae (Bonn: impensis E. Weberi, 1838), pp. 411-20; also in *Извори за Българската история. Fontes hist. Bulgaricae* (Sofiia: Българска академия на науките, 1954-), IX, 135-38; Leo Grammaticus, *Chronographia, ibid.*, IX, 166-68; Pseudo-Symeonis, *Chronographia, ibid.*, IX, 182; and Georgius Monachus *Continuatus, ibid.*, XI, 150-52. After these events we have only references to the four Magyar raids and two theological sources about the Bogomil heresy (telling us nothing about Bulgarian affairs) up to the middle of the 960s when the Byzan-

From these few facts how can one come up with the dismal picture scholars usually give us? I suspect there are two reasons: 1) To find a cause for the heresy that arose, and 2) strength and success are identified by scholars with militarism. If one is at peace, this must mean that one is too weak to fight. However, if this is the reasoning behind the discrediting of Peter's Bulgaria, it is absurd. He may well have made peace because he feared his neighbors would attack him from all sides. This is sensible policy. Symeon also made peace with Byzantium in the 890s when he was attacked from the other side by the Magyars. Possibly also Peter anticipated the revolts of his brothers that were to follow. Making peace with Byzantium would also be important in facing such internal threats. And once peace was made Peter had reasons to maintain it; he had received recognition of his title and of his autocephalous church under its patriarch, and he received a bride. Thus, he had achieved all of the items, except for Constantinople and the empire itself, for which Symeon had so long been at war. And Symeon's long wars had clearly demonstrated that Constantinople would not be conquered. What would be gained by continuing the war?

Now let us turn to the supposed rise of the nobility. We know of a couple of noblemen under Peter who seem to have been powerful: Peter's uncle, the boiar George Sursuvul, and Count Nicholas, the father of the future Tsar Samuel, in distant western Macedonia whom we learn of at the end of Peter's reign. This is hardly evidence of great power going to the boiars or aristocrats in general. In fact, certain nobles had been powerful at every stage throughout Bulgaria's medieval history. We have no evidence that Symeon cowed the nobility or that he even tried to do so. The fact that Symeon's eldest son (by his first wife) was popped into a monastery and succession went to Peter (the eldest son of wife number two) who became ruler under the wing of the boiar brother of Symeon's second wife suggests that the succession may have gone the way it did through the power and influence upon Symeon of that boiar family. If so, then even Symeon did not have all of them subdued. The best way to limit the boiars would be to create an effective administration with officials sent out to the provinces from the center. There is no evidence that Symeon ever created such an administrative structure. Thus, the local nobles probably retained great local authority under him; this situation seems to have continued under Peter. However, there is no evidence that local nobles had more authority in their own counties under Peter than they had

tine-Bulgarian war breaks out. The sources on the war give us no information about the preceding period. I do not discuss the war in any detail here because I have nothing new to contribute. For an excellent account of the war, see A. Stokes, "Background and Chronology of the Balkan Campaigns of Svjatoslav," *Slavonic and East European Review*, 40 (1962), 43-57; and *idem*, "The Balkan Campaigns of Svjatoslav Igorevich," *ibid*, 40 (1962), 466-96.

held earlier. Probably as a successful war leader (offering the possibilities of booty to be won for supporters and the possibility of punitive raids against the disobedient) Symeon, at least for and on campaigns, had the obedience of most. Possibly Peter could not draw as many to his standard, and this may have hurt him in the 960s. However, we must note that after the end of the civil wars (928-30) we have no evidence of any nobles disobeying Peter either.

The other way to show rise of the nobility is to examine the relations of peasants to the nobility. On this issue we have almost no information. We have no evidence that under Peter more peasants were being enserfed or that more free villages were being annexed to the estates of the nobility than previously. Presumably during both reigns many peasants found themselves as serfs on the lands of the aristocrats. Possibly (even probably) the peasants resented the nobility, but there is no reason to think that they should hate the nobles more under Peter than they had during previous reigns. Under Peter there was very likely further growth of monastic landholding and thus probably more peasants did end up living on church estates; but if Bulgarian church lands were like those of Byzantium these lands would have had more tax exemptions. If this was the case for Bulgaria, then a serf on a church estate would pay less in taxes than a free peasant. This, then, would hardly have been a cause for dissatisfaction or a reason for peasants to oppose the growth of monastic lands.

Other than the attack of locusts which probably caused hardships in 927, the only signs of the crisis which so many scholars speak of are the revolts of Peter's brothers in the early years of his reign (928-30). We do not know the causes, quite possibly there were no ideological reasons, but the revolts simply reflected the ambitions and bitterness of the brothers and their friends. By the end of 930 Peter had put down the revolts (showing some ability either by Peter or his uncle), and we have no more revolts or foreign invasions (except for four known Magyar raids that penetrated through Bulgaria to Byzantium) until the Byzantine war of the late 960s. Thus, the bulk of Peter's reign was basically peaceful, and we find no signs of local unrest after 930. The economy probably improved. Peace with Byzantium (plus the Byzantine princess at court) probably brought about an increase of trade with Byzantium; in addition, the Byzantines also paid an annual tribute. That there was considerable commercial prosperity is also seen in Sviatoslav's description of the Bulgarian commercial town of Pereiaslavets on the Danube he had occupied in the late 960s. Pereiaslavets was evidently more prosperous than Kiev for Sviatoslav wanted to move there. And clearly its prosperity had existed under Peter for it could not have suddenly blossomed into such an emporium in the midst of the Bulgarian-Russian-Byzantine war. The *Russian Primary Chronicle* quotes Sviatoslav as saying: "I do not care to remain in Kiev, but should prefer to live in Pereyaslavets on the Danube, since that is the centre of my realm, where all riches are concentrated; gold, silks, wine and various fruits

from Greece, silver and horses from Hungary and Bohemia, and from Rus' furs, wax, honey, and slaves."[3] Thus, there was commercial prosperity (at least in Pereiaslavets). On Peter's tax policy, we know no more than we do about Symeon's. We know that they both levied whatever they collected in kind. But how high a tax rate existed under Peter, whether it was at all changed from the rate under Symeon, and how difficult it was for peasants to meet Peter's taxes are unknown.

Bulgaria is said to have declined under Peter. The items cited above (though too scanty to prove matters) do not suggest a decline. On the negative side against Peter all that we know is that Bulgaria's armies were inadequate when needed against Byzantium and the Russians in the late 960s. By the 960s under Nicephorus Phocas the Byzantines, of course, had far superior armies to those that the Byzantines had had to oppose Symeon. And the Russians also quickly attacked the Bulgarians. Thus, Peter was faced with more powerful opposition that Symeon. In addition, probably the years of peace had caused Bulgaria to decline militarily. However, a policy of neglecting the army and diverting resources elsewhere—if true—(while evidently a poor policy for a state with Bulgaria's geographic location) is no sign that the state and its people had not had a relatively prosperous and contented thirty years in the interim. Presumably a policy of peace would have been a popular policy for the bulk of society (the military class excepted). Neglect of the military also says nothing about Peter's other policies. Possibly the army was neglected through his incompetence or lack of interest; but possibly it was neglected because he did not collect enough taxes to maintain it. If the latter be true, the failure to collect these taxes would have been popular with the Bulgarian tax-payers. Possibly the warrior class was unhappy with peace and the lack of military activities, however, their possible discontent is irrelevant to the usual pictures of social discontent used to explain the rise of the Bogomils because there is no evidence that the warriors became Bogomils. The same argument also pertains to the supposed resentment of Byzantine influence. If such influence really increased beyond the court (and we cannot prove that it did), then possibly the boiars disliked it. However, the boiars do not seem to have turned to heresy because of it, for once again we do not find members of the elite connected with the heresy. And presumably the peasants in their villages and artisans in provincial towns preferred peace and never saw any Byzantine influence to be bothered by.

Thus, the general model of greatness under Symeon and decline under Peter is dubious. We see no sign of poverty and crisis during the main part of

3. *The Russian Primary Chronicle. Laurentian Text*, trans. and ed. S. H. Cross and O. P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor (Cambridge, Mass.: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1953), p. 86.

Peter's reign until the defeat by the Russians and Byzantines at the end; and by that time the Bogomil heresy was already established. So, it cannot have arisen out of the military defeats of the late 960s and early 970s. Thus, though there was a heresy we cannot make arguments about its emergence from a critical social situation because we know so little about what sort of social situation there was. In addition, the heresy is supposed to have attracted the little people, and we can present reasons why they were probably better off under Peter than previously. And those who might have been dissatisfied would have been from the elite about whom we have no evidence they were involved in heresy. Thus, the rise of a heresy cannot be used to prove social discontent.[4]

And finally to speak of decline under Peter there must have been relative prosperity under Symeon. Yet did we have it? We had military glory, great titles, prestige, and booty for him and the military leaders (and probably the soldiers as well). But were other aspects of the state (commerce, crop yields, etc.) more prosperous under him than under Peter? That we do not know for we have no evidence that Symeon developed the productive aspects of the state (it would have been difficult without coinage). Symeon took an interest in trade and went to war with Byzantium when the Emperor Leo VI shifted the Bulgarian market from Constantinople to Thessalonika. However, with the Byzantine wars during the last fourteen years of his reign, trade (particularly with Byzantium which was probably the most important trading partner Bulgaria had) surely declined. This presumably picked up after Peter made peace in 927 and is supported by the prosperity of Pereiaslavets and the Greek goods it had there. In addition, the supposed prosperity generally attributed to Symeon's reign is not entirely consistent with the generally advanced conclusion of financial exhaustion at the end of his reign. If the Bulgarian state was really financially exhausted at the end of his reign (which, of course, we do not know), then presumably peace under Peter gave the state a chance to pick up and regain its lost prosperity. Furthermore, lack of financial exhaustion does not mean prosperity. Even if Symeon's state and military had acquired great wealth in booty, it does not mean that it filtered down to the society as a whole. Thus, we have no clear-cut evidence that Bulgaria as a whole enjoyed prosperity under Symeon.

Thus, to conclude there is no real evidence to support a model of crisis and decline in Bulgaria under Peter. An equally plausible (though also impossible

4. Professor Ivan Dujčev lends support to my thesis here. He points out that the sources only note that Pop Bogomil was active and that the heresy was spread under Peter, and Dujčev suggests that its origins may well be earlier (possibly back to the ninth century). If this be true, then there is no need to particularly look for social crisis during Peter's reign. See I. Dujčev, "I Bogomili nei paesi Slavi e la loro storia," rpt. in I. Dujčev, *Medioevo Bizantino-Slavo* (Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1965-), I, 262.

to prove) setting of peace and prosperity (despite a possible policy of neglect of the army) can be suggested. Of course, since things in life are seldom black or white, it is most probable that there actually existed some sort of "grey" situation in between the two opposite extremes of prosperity versus rampant crisis. However, one would expect life to have been grey to black for much of the medieval population throughout the Middle Ages. There would, therefore, have always been reason for people to turn to movements of protest. However, what I am stressing here is that there is no evidence that things were any blacker under Peter than at other times.

Epilogue

One of the unfortunate things about the subject we have examined here is that there are so few sources. Frequently when major questions requiring answers are found to have no sources, scholars have fallen prey to the great temptation to speculate and to create hypothetical models of what might have been; and then soon either they themselves or scholars who come after them convert these models into facts. Though the few bare secure facts we have are not sufficient to portray our past civilizations and thus are unsatisfactory, such hypothetical models are even worse–minus quantities–since the generalizations they lead to may often be incorrect.

Lynn White has well stated the sad reality we historians must face:

> Voltaire to the contrary, history is a bag of tricks which the dead have played upon historians. The most remarkable of these illusions is the belief that surviving written records provide us with a reasonably accurate facsimile of past human activity. "Prehistory" is defined as the period for which such records are not available. But until very recently the vast majority of mankind was living in a subhistory which was a continuation of prehistory. Nor was this condition characteristic simply of the lower strata of society. In medieval Europe until the end of the eleventh century we learn of the feudal aristocracy largely from clerical sources which naturally reflect ecclesiastical attitudes; the knights do not speak for themselves. Only later do merchants, manufacturers, and technicians begin to share their thoughts with us. The peasant was the last to find his voice.[5]

And for Medieval Bulgaria we are faced with a situation where there are almost no Bulgarian voices at all. Frustrated by this situation and wanting to be able to say something about these major trends and events that did exist–whether the sources exist to describe them or not–historians have turned to

5. L. T. White, Jr., *Medieval Technology and Social Change* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962). My citation comes from the 1966 Oxford Galaxy Book edition, p. v.

hypotheses which soon become "facts." Yet as Cipolla says: "Easy explanations of complex historic phenomena fascinate people, precisely because they are easy and, therefore, comfortable. The explanation pleases, the problem irritates. And yet the explanation is often unattainable, while the problem remains the only valid thing."[6]

Thus, sad as it is, it is better to avoid the fictitious answer; historians must be satisfied with elucidating the major questions and problems and then answering them to the limited extent allowed by our fragmentary sources. Beyond that we must be willing to honestly–and without shame–say: We do not know.

At the present moment in the study of Medieval Bulgaria's fascinating history the most important task is to return to the bedrock of facts in our sources and to remove the hypotheses stated as facts and the sweeping generalizations (which really are not known and have no source basis) from the scholarship. For the removal of error is every bit as important as the discovery of new facts. And since, owing to the lack of sources, few new facts are to be found, and, since probably a good quarter of the broad statements made about the First Bulgarian Empire (i.e., broad statements such as the general characteristics of reigns, relations between Slavs and Bulgars, relations between nobility and khan or tsar) are really just constructs which are very likely false, this is clearly the major task facing all historians of Medieval Bulgaria. This is a fitting note on which to end this paper for Professor Ivan Dujčev whom we are honoring in this volume is one of the few scholars of Bulgarian history who has consistently taken finite problems and on the basis of meticulous source study come up with the limited non-sweeping conclusions that his sources have allowed. His work and methods should be models for all students of Medieval Bulgaria.

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6. C. M. Cipolla, *Before the Industrial Revolution: European Society and Economy, 1000-1700* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1976), p. 173.

BYZANTINE STUDIES/ETUDES BYZANTINES, 5, Pts. 1-2 (1978), 96-124.

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The Portraits of St. Athanasius of Athos

In the course of a life's work Professor Ivan Dujčev has devoted some important studies to Athos, the Holy Mountain.[1] With my present small offering I have chosen to return to this great center of Eastern Christianity and discuss the portraits of Athanasius of Athos, the chief reformer of Athonitic monasticism, which have not as yet attracted the interest of students.[2] My discussion is focused on the problem of the relation of these portraits to the "sitter"; whether they represent an actual likeness of the physical appearance of the saint rendered with relative accuracy, and more importantly, whether they are portrayals of the saint's character. Scenes related to the life of the saint constitute a separate theme and have not been included here.

These questions must be seen mainly as parts of two larger themes in Byzantine art: that of the portrait and that of the artist's freedom. Although a systematic, comprehensive study of the portrait in Byzantium is still to be undertaken, attention has been drawn to some aspects of the subject. Most

1. "Le Mont Athos et les Slaves au moyen âge," *Le Millénaire du Mont Athos, 963-1963: études et mélanges,* 2 vols. (Chevetogne: Editions de Chevetogne, 1963-64), II, 122-44, with references to earlier studies. I offer warm thanks to Professor Kurt Weitzmann who put at my disposal the photographs of the Athos miniatures, figs. 1-4, and to Dr. Josepha Weitzmann-Fiedler who as always has offered her help in many ways. Professor Rigas Bertos, my colleague at McGill University, who has played the role of the *advocatus diaboli,* must be thanked for his patience with me. The frescoes are reproduced after: G. Millet, *Monuments de l'Athos,* Part I: *Les Peintures,* Monuments de l'Art Byzantin, 5 (Paris: Leroux, 1927), figs 5-7 and 9-10; K. D. Kalokyres, Ἄθως. *Θέματα ἱερατικολογίας καὶ τέχνης. Ἐπὶ τῇ χιλιοετηρίδι (963-1963) (Athos: Themes of Archaeology and Art. On the Occasion of the 1000th Anniversary, 963-1963)* (Athinai: Al. and E. Papademetriu, 1963), fig. 8; G. Millet, *La peinture du moyen âge en Yougoslavie (Serbie, Macédoine et Monténégro). Album présenté par A. Frolow,* fasc. I (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1954), fig. 11; and St. Pelekanides, Καστορία I. Βυζαντιναὶ τοιχογραφίαι. Πίνακες, Ἑταιρεία Μακεδονικῶν Σπουδῶν, Μακεδονικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη, 17 (Thessaloniki: Ἑταιρεία Μακεδ. Σπουδῶν, 1953), fig. 12.

2. St. Athanasius is not the founder of monasticism on Athos. He is the first to organize systematically the monastic community following ultimately the tradition of the monastic communities and of the *lavras* in the East. In general, see J. Décarreaux, "Du monachisme primitif au monachisme Athonite," in *Le Millénaire,* I, 19-58; and J. Leroy, "La conversion de saint Athanase l'Athonite à l'idéal cénobitique et l'influence studite," *ibid.,* I, 101-20. A systematic publication and study of all frescoes on Athos remains one of the many *desiderata* of Byzantine art. The old documentation provided by Millet, and general or special studies by various scholars, notably by Xyngopoulos and Chatzidakis, which appeared later do not fill the existing needs.

of these studies, however, have dealt with portrait-iconography, portraits as types, "realism" in portraiture, portrait and society.[3] The "character-portrait" in Byzantium has not been explored. Occasionally, in the presentation of a particular monument we are made aware of an artist who has given to a portrait "an unexpected power that can only be the result of direct observation," or that "he has marked the character of each individual" within a given group of persons.[4] Such remarks bring to focus the talent of an artist who is able to individualize a figure and suggest a psychological state of being. But they do not essentially elucidate the problem of character-portrait as we understand here, that is, a portrayal of the sitter's actual personality. In order to investigate the theme, the personality of the sitter must be sketched first with the help of literary sources; then the literary sketch must be compared to existing representations. Since a sitter's character has many facets, it is necessary to group together portraits of a particular saint, executed by various artists and at different periods, and to examine them as documents of the holy man's personality.

This approach raises the problem of the degree of freedom permitted to the artist in interpreting a character-portrait. Can an artist, in the process of following a prescribed iconography, provided by tradition in general or a guide book in particular (the painters' manual for example), express his own understanding of the sitter? Or does the artist lose sight of the actual psychological content of the holy man's personality in the light of the world of immutability to which the holy man belongs? It has been stated that the artist reinterprets what tradition has given him and he has been compared to an interpreter of a composer.[5] How is this applicable to portraiture? Is there any relationship between the artist and a sitter outside the guide book?

In attempting this discussion we are fully aware of the limitations imposed upon us by the aesthetics of Byzantine art which aims, in general, at bringing the divine into the world of man and, in particular, of making the

3. We may cite some recent works in which earlier bibliographies can be found: G. Mathew, *Byzantine Aesthetics* (London: J. Murray, 1963), pp. 72 ff.; H. Buchthal, "Some Notes on Byzantine Hagiographical Portraiture," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts,* 62 (1963), 81-90; Tania Velmans, "Le portrait dans l'art des Paléologues," in *Art et Société à Byzance sous les Paléologues, Actes du Colloque organisé par l'Association international des études byzantines à Venise en Septembre 1968,* Bibliothèque de l'Institut hellénique d'études byzantines et post-byzantine de Venise, n. 4 (Venezia: Stamperia di Venezia, 1971), pp. 91-148. Doula Mouriki, "The Portraits of Theodore Stoudites in Byzantine Art," *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 20 (1971), 249-80; I. Spatharakis, *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1976).

4. M. Chatzidakes, *Byzantine Monuments in Attica and Boeotia* (Athinai: Ἐκδόσεις Ἀθηνῶν, 1956), pp. 14 and 22.

5. Cf. A. Grabar, *Byzantium: Byzantine Art in the Middle Ages,* trans. Betty Forster (London: Methuen, 1966), pp. 66 ff.

great ascetics not impassive creatures, but beings already belonging to a level of humanity "different from that of ordinary beings and half way to another world." We must also consider changes in artistic sensibility and style which at certain periods of Byzantine art tend towards greater humanization of holy persons.[6] It is with the understanding of these boundaries that our discussion must be developed.

Athanasius' portraits will not answer all these questions. We hope, however, that a new path of investigation will be opened. In choosing them to set and illustrate the problem, the portraits have the distinct advantage that despite expressed opinions, in relation to the number of portraits of other ascetics, they are not numerous. We cannot claim completeness in our list of examples because many monuments, expecially in Greece, are still unpublished. To my knowledge the subject is rare and Athanasius of Athos is not popular in areas outside Mount Athos. The earliest portraits are found in manuscripts which, with one important exception, have remained unpublished and have not yet been mentioned by philologists or historians who are engaged in the controversy of the textual recension of the saint's *Vita*. Most of the later portraits are found in frescoes in the monasteries of Mount Athos.[7]

I

The evidence concerning the physical appearance of Athanasius must be presented first. The earliest extant source is the saint's *Vita*, known in two versions A and B. Leaving aside the textual problems, the exact relation of the two versions to one another, their place of origin, as well as the question of their value as historical documents–problems which cannot be answered unless a critical edition of the *Vita* is produced–we must admit that neither

6. Cf. Velmans, "Le Portrait," p. 101 and *passim*.

7. The most complete list published today of Athanasius' portraits is to be found in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, eds. E. Kirschbaum and W. Braunfels, 8 vols. (Roma-Freiburg-Basel-Wien: Herder, 1968-76), V, cols. 267-68. The reproduced portrait is erroneously attributed to the *Trapeza* of Lavra, while in fact it belongs to the *Protaton*. The author of the entry, Dr. Ursula Knoben, follows the date 1512 for the *Trapeza* frescoes, which is not supported by recent research; see below p. 108. In addition to the examples discussed in the present study, the list could be expanded to include Athanasius' portrait in the "Meteoron" monastery, Thessaly, found on the west wall of the main church (1522). Like so many other monuments in Greece, the Meteora frescoes await their proper publication, see below n. 23. In her article, "Theodore Stoudites," p. 271, Professor Mouriki seems to imply the existence of still another portrait of Athanasius in the Church of St. John the Theologian at Veroia. Finally, two more late icons with St. Athanasius are known to me, one in the possession of Professor K. Weitzmann, at Princeton University, the other in the Pantokrator Monastery, Athos; see Byzantine Art, 9th Exhibition of the Council of Europe (Athens: Dept. of Antiquities, 1964), no. 721.

version gives any indication of Athanasius' physical appearance.[8] Descriptions of saints' physiognomies are found in the *συναξάρια* and in painters' guide books such as the *Ἑρμηνεία τῆς ζωγραφικῆς τέχνης* by Dionysius of Fourna, completed between 1728 and 1733.[9] The *συναξάρια* are of no help in this case. The *Ἑρμηνεία* gives the following brief description of his appearance: "an old man, bald, with a two-pointed beard, holding a scroll with the following inscription: let us toil, brethren, so that we can enjoy the things of heaven."[10] This description may well derive from a pictorial representation of the saint, a point to which we return shortly. In addition there are various canons and poems composed by monks of the Holy Mountain.[11] They, too, make no reference to Athanasius' physical appearance. We are left, therefore, with the description of the *Ἑρμηνεία* which, however, should not be taken as authentic. In fact it describes a *type* and does not refer to a likeness, a real portrait. If one looks in the same paragraph devoted to the portrayals of *Ὅσιοι*, one would realize that the descriptions constitute stereotypes whose physical characteristics do little to differentiate one saint from

8. For the text of the *Vita A*, see I. Pomialovskii, *Житие преподобнаго Аѳанасия Аѳонскаго* (St. Petersburg: Тип. И. Академии Наукъ, 1895); an English translation of §254 is to be found in C. A. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire, 312-1452*, Sources and Documents in the History of Art Series (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1972), pp. 213-14. For *Vita B* see L. Petit, "Vie de saint Athanase l'Athonite," *Analecta Bollandiana*, 25 (1906), 5-89. For the textual problems, see P. Lemerle, "La vie ancienne de saint Athanase l'Athonite...," in *Le Millénaire*, I, 59-100; A. Komines, "Ἡ χειρόγραφος παράδοσις τῶν δύο ἀρχαιοτέρων βίων ὁσίου Ἀθανασίου," *Analecta Bollandiana*, 82 (1964), 397-401; J. Leroy, "Les deux vies de saint Athanase l'Athonite," *ibid.*, 82, 409-29. The lack of any reference to the saint's physical appearance has been used as an argument to support the theory that the author of *Vita A* did not know St. Athanasius personally. The same argument should also apply to *Vita B*. See also Od. Lampsides, "Μία Παραλλαγὴ τῆς βιογραφίας Ἁγίου Ἀθανασίουτοῦ Ἀθωνίτου," Βυζαντιά, 6 (1974), 283-319.

9. Whenever the *Ἑρμηνεία* is used in discussions, it should be kept in mind that the iconographic part of the treatise does not seem to stem from sources earlier than the fall of Constantinople; for the pertinent problems and a reconsideration of the entire question, see A. Xyngopoulos, *Σχεδίασμα ἱστορίας τῆς θρησκευτικῆς ζωγραφικῆς μετὰ τὴν ἅλωσιν* (Athinai: *Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἑταιρεία*, 1957), pp. 300 ff.; the best available edition of the treatise is that by A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἑρμηνεία τῆς ζωγραφικῆς τέχνης* (St. Petersburg, 1909); the French translation by A. N. Didron, *Manuel d'iconographie chrétienne, grecque et latine* (Paris: Imp. royale, 1845; rpt. New York, 1936), is misleading. A modern version of the *Ἑρμηνεία*, indeed a splendid book, which completes and corrects the work of Dionysius, was written by the late Ph. Kontoglou, *Ἔκφρασις τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Εἰκονογραφίας, μετὰ πολλῶν σχεδίων καὶ εἰκόνων*, 2 vols. (Athinai: Ekdotikos Oikos Aster, Al. & E. Papademetriou, 1960).

10. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἑρμηνεία*, p. 163.

11. Many of them are in codices in Lavra, in general see S. Eustratiades, *Ἁγιολόγιον τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας* (Athinai: *Ἔκδοσις τῆς Ἀποστολικῆς Διακονίας τῆς Ἐκκλησιας της Ἑλλάδος*, 1935?), p. 15; A. Komines, "Un canone inedite in onore di Sant'Atanasio l'Atonita," in *Le Millénaire*, I, 135-44; *idem*, "Ὑμνογραφικὰ εἰς ὅσιον Ἀθανάσιον τὸν Ἀθωνίτην," *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*, 33 (1936), 262-313.

the other. Instead, painters are provided with useful devices which help perpetuate a type and very often the disposition of the beard may be the main criterion for differentiation.[12] Here are some examples: Hosios Theodosius the Koinobiarches in described as "an old man with a two-pointed beard, holding a scroll"; Theodore the Studite is refered to as "an old man, bald, with a two-pointed beard"; St. Stylianus is described as "an old man, bald, with a long two-pointed beard, holding an infant in his hand." Clearly the differentiation in each case is achieved by minor deviations of the same physiognomic characteristics or by the addition of an attribute.

These conventions are not confined to the Ἑρμηνεία–they have a long history behind–which means that the artist, who attempted to portray St. Athanasius in earlier times, was confronted with the same problem. He was given a type-portrait whether in a model or in a guide book, his task being to individualize the given features of the fixed type. To fulfill his task the artist had only one possibility opened to him: while following the model, whether pictorial or literary, he would add to the image he created his own concepts of the saint, formed either through reading the *Vita* or by being exposed to an oral tradition whose origins may well go back to the saint's lifetime. The perpetuation of the written and oral traditions in the minds of the monks and of the artists exposed to these traditions would have helped the creation of an image of the holy man which would have been more important than the fixed type of his portrait. This image, nourished by the sayings of the monks and given to the artists, would have been a portrayal of the personality of the saint.

For those of us who are familiar with life on Mt. Athos, the meaning and extent of the oral tradition about St. Athanasius is clear. If we consider the written word as more concrete, the *Vita* is once again the source which gives us the characteristics of the saint's personality. Written for the edification of the monks in Lavra who wished to know more about their spiritual father, the *Vita* stresses the uniqueness of Athanasius' personality and character and offers an edifying picture of ideal life.

From early age in Trebizond, Abraamios (the worldly name of Athanasius before he accepted the monastic habit) had chosen the ascetic way of life.[13] He appeared to be a vigorous and strong man who underwent all kinds of tests in order to subject the body to the will of the spirit. Although this is an attribute of ascetics, Athanasius is characterized by a series of extraordinary virtues. He was most kind and generous towards the poor; he was meek and gentle in character and was distinguished by "sweetness of speech"; and he

12. For descriptions of Ὅσιοι, see Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Ἑρμηνεία,, pp. 163 ff.; cf. Mouriki, "Theodore Stoudites," p. 251.

13. For the original texts from which our information derives, see above n. 8, and esp. *Vita B* in Petit, "Vie de saint Athanase."

was rich in wisdom.[14] In another part of the *Vita* attention is drawn to Abraamios' glance of the eye "which together with his appearance and character had something to be wondered at."[15] Even at an early stage of his God-guided life, Athanasius is presented as a man of strong character with a sharp mind, ready to fight the adversary, and to lead his followers. His moral courage and physical strength are given special emphasis, as the following episode illustrates. While the Great Lavra was being built (and Athanasius was the instigator and supervisor of the project) such was his courage and strength that often "while he was pulling the wagon on one side, three men, on the other side, were not able to share equally with him the burden of the cart."[16] He could be a strong, demanding, determined, and austere leader. At the same time, this strong man was both graceful and soft-spoken. Yet, when the occasion arose, he could transform his pleasant and quiet manner into one that inspired fear.[17] His features could be transfixed as easily by despondency and hostility as they could be by joy and pleasure. Summing up his character image as conveyed in the *Vita,* we can say that Athanasius was a man of extremes in temperament: kind and gentle on the one hand, hostile and awe-inspiring on the other. But, his moments of doubt, and at times a wish to escape from affliction were secondary aspects of his character. In fact his determination and strength of will stand above all other characteristics. Extremes in temperament seem to be features of ascetics in general but in Athanasius' case his firmness to win over every form of adversity is one of the strongest features of his psychological portrait. His will-power, strengthened by his sharp mind, is tempered by his kindness. The concluding episode in the *Vita* sums up these features. Old enough and beyond his seventieth year when the enlargement of the *Katholikon* of the Great Lavra was near completion, Athanasius insisted on climbing up the scaffolding in order to supervise the completion of the dome. Before he climbed up, he delivered a short sermon to the brethren, exhorting them to a life of labor, faith and courage. He remained to the last a man of strong will, the determined leader, the father concerned about his spiritual sons. When he and six of his disciples climbed up, the dome collapsed burying those on the scaffold. So ended the saint this form of his life praising the Lord to the last. This occurred on Saturday, 5 July, possibly in the year 1002, a date established by the Church for the saint's festival.[18]

14. Petit, "Vie de saint Athanase," pp. 17, 22, and *passim.*
15. *Ibid.*, p. 19.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 36.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 65.
18. *Ibid.*, pp. 76 ff. For the argument supporting the proposed date, see Lemerle, "La vie ancienne," p. 97.

II

Most probably the earliest extant portrait of St. Athanasius is the one found in the frontispiece of *codex Athos Lavra K 122 (2060)*, fol. 4v, which on stylistic and palaeographic grounds can be dated about the middle of the eleventh century (Fig. 1). The codex is not included in the Eustratiades catalogue, but it appears in the supplement published by Panateleimon Lavriotes.[19] It contains version B of the saint's *Vita*. The miniature (25.1 X 19 cm), first published by Kurt Weitzmann, is in the washdrawing technique with the portrait drawn directly on the parchment.[20] It represents the saint frontally, wearing his monastic habit, in an attitude of prayer. The following inscription is on either side of the figure: Ο ΑΓ (ΙΟC) ΑΘΑΝΑCΙΟC Ο ΕΝ ΤΩ ΑΘΩ (St. Athanasius of Athos). Professor Weitzmann has pointed out that while the stance is conventional, the artist has presented an ascetic face by simple means which emphasize the spiritual qualities of the saint and that some real portrait features are possibly to be seen here.[21] The portrait has a distinct vividness and does not represent the saint as an old man. He is shown in the maturity of his age and although it foreshadows the description in the painters' manual of some of the features, such as the two-pointed beard and bald head, and announces the appearance of the physiognomic type that was to be found in subsequent images of Athanasius, the portrait is not identical to the description of the Ἑρμηνεία. There is a striking alertness of mind in this image. Undoubtedly, the unknown artist has captured some of the features of a character-portrait of the saint. The lifelike quality of the portrait and the age of Athanasius may suggest that the image was made by someone who was near the saint in time.

A later important portrait is again in Lavra. A reproduction of it has been used as an illustration for texts by Athanasius published in Volos, Greece, in 1939 and 1948, but it has remained unknown. It is in *codex E. 194 (2064)*, kept in the *skevophylakion* of the monastery, which contains

19. "Συμπληρωματικός κατάλογος τῶν χειρογράφων τῆς Λαύρας," Ἐπετηρίς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν, 28 (1958), 116; Lemerle, "La vie ancienne," p. 61, n. 19; Komines, "Ἡ χειρόγραφος παράδοσις," p. 404. Komines follows the eleventh-twelfth-century date given by the late Panteleimon which, in our opinion, is not supported by the style of illustration. The late date has played a part in the controversy of the textual recension.

20. K. Weitzmann, *Aus den Bibliotheken des Athos* (Hamburg: F. Wittig, 1963), pp. 9-10, and frontispiece. For the iconography of saints in general, see an excellent article by A. Chatzinikolaou, "Heiligen," in *Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst*, ed. K. Wessel and M. Restle (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1963-), II, cols. 1034-93, for ascetics especially, II, cols. 1064-71, and for St. Athanasius, II, col. 1068.

21. Weitzmann, *Aus den Bibliotheken.*

Vita A and was probably written in Lavra.[22] The miniature on fol. A^v, the only one contained in the manuscript, except three headpieces and a figurative initial, is on a single sheet and of smaller dimensions (29 X 19 cm) than the text-pages (29 X 20.6 cm) (Fig. 2). It belongs, however, to the codex. A consideration of the figure style and the ornament point to a fourteenth-century date. The saint, identified by inscription to be discussed later, is shown frontally, as an old man in his monastic habit, but in a stance different from the previous portrait. He holds a cross against his breast with his right hand and an open scroll in his left containing the following motto of monastic life: "they have foresaken all the sweet and ephemeral things of the present life." A long, two-pointed beard, a protruding forehead, a not fully-bald head and his age point towards the physiognomic type described in the Ἑρμηνεία which was to become the standard in other portrayals. The type in stance and rendering is conventional. Yet the artist has emphasized the sharpness of mind once again and the alertness of the holy man, by depicting these vivid and penetrating eyes whose look, according to the *Vita,* was "something to wonder at." The vitality of the mind is combined with a frail body. We can imagine somehow the Athanasius of the last episode in the *Vita,* the born leader who was determined to lead to the last: a small but agile, energetic man, ready to stand against the devil or any unknown element that may prevent the fulfillment of his mission. This portrait can be best described as a projection of the inner man, and in the language of the mystics, this image is a portrayal of the "awakened man" hidden within the "sleeping man."

These two Lavra portraits are indeed different and lead to the following observations: the one which we consider the earliest does not comply with the established physiognomic type, while the other agrees with it partially. It follows that the first portrait was made at a time when the iconographic tradition was not established and no painted model was available. Here, therefore, we have two images of Athanasius, one portraying him in his maturity and the other in his old age. The one tends to stress the physical presence and the thought world, the other draws attention to the frailty of the body still able to sustain the burning fire of the heart which has consumed all flesh. The second portrait seems to convey the message of Athanasius, preached all his life: the more the body disappears, the more able is the mind to perceive the fullness of the heavens.

The apparent differences of these portraits raise the question of their pro-

22. Panteleimon, "Συμπληρωματικός," p. 118; and Komines, "Ἡ χειρόγραφος παράδοσις," p. 401, propose an eleventh-century date which is not supported by art-historical evidence. For a discussion of the problem, see my forthcoming study on *The Illustrated Manuscripts of the Lavra Monastery*. Athos.

venience which cannot be fully discussed here. We can only present the evidence provided by the inscriptions in each case. In the first miniature the saint is indicated simply as St. Athanasius of Athos. But the second portrait bears the following inscription, written in a rare, cruciform manner: Ο ΑΓΙΟC Π(Α)ΤΗΡ ΗΜΩΝ ΑΘΑΝΑCΙΟC (Our Holy Father Athanasius). Leaving aside the question of form, we should point out that the present inscription is written on top or in place of another one traces of which can still be seen. The discernable characters (*A* on the left side and $\tilde{\Omega}$ Θ ? *N C* on the right side), which are not offprints of the opposite, text-page, may suggest an inscription identical to the present one. This is uncertain. If this were so we would assume that the earlier inscription was rewritten for various reasons. Or, it may be that the present inscription presents a corrected version of an earlier one in an attempt to give greater authenticity to the portrait and localize it in the Lavra monastery. If the second hypothesis is plausible, one wonders why the title "our Father" is given to this portrait and not to the first one as well which must have been in Lavra for a long time. Today the monks consider the second codex "as one produced by the hand of St. Athanasius," and for this reason they have given it a special place in the *skevophylakion* together with other precious relics, such as the so-called lectionary of the Emperor Phocas. How far back this tradition goes and whether it can justify a possible alteration of the inscription we cannot know and we shall not continue contemplating on possibilities. Instead we shall discuss the inscription in its present form.

The title "our Father" is indeed reserved for the abbot and founding father of a monastery.[23] Because Athanasius was the founder and abbot, the father, of the first monastery to be established on the Holy Mountain, the Great Lavra, portraits with this title must be linked with Lavra. But it can be argued that Athanasius was considered the father of the entire monastic community on Athos and that the relevant title could not be used as evidence to associate him or any of his portraits with Lavra exclusively. Such an objection, however, is not supported by the epigraphic evidence. In fact the differ-

23. There are several parallel examples of such usage. We think, for instance, of the inscriptions that accompany the portraits of Athanasius of Meteora and Joasaph Uroš, fathers and founders of the "Meteoron monastery": "ὁ ὅσιος πατήρ ἡμῶν Ἀθανάσιος καὶ καθηγητής τοῦ ἁγίου μετεώρου; ὁ ὅσιος πατήρ ἡμῶν Ἰωάσαφ." Or, the portrait of Antonius Cantacuzene, the founder of the Monastery of St. Stephen at Meteora, in the dark little church of the monastery, with the inscription: "ὁ ὅσιος πατήρ ἡμῶν Ἀντώνιος καὶ κτήτωρ τοῦ ἁγίου Στεφάνου." The inscription on Antonius's scroll is of interest as well. It can be translated as "if you wish to call me Father, imitate my deeds and my life." These words were also attributed to Athanasius of the "Meteoron." For a photo of the Joasaph Uroš portrait and a discussion elucidating the inscriptions historically, see the best study on the history of the Meteora monasteries to date by D. M. Nicol, *Meteora, The Rock Monasteries of Thessaly* (London: Chapman and Hall Ltd., 1963), pp. 98, 105, 110, 111 f., 126, and plate opposite p. 53.

entiation of inscriptions found in the two miniatures appears also in monumental portraits. Those on the walls of Lavra bear the second type of inscription, i.e., "Our Holy Father Athanasius," while those in other monasteries on Athos or elsewhere bear simply the inscription found on the first portrait, "St. Athanasius of Athos." We can, therefore, conclude beyond doubt, that the first portrait was not made for the Lavra community, while the second one was either made for the monastery or it was adopted by the monks. This conclusion is further stressed by another piece of evidence found in *cod. K 122* of which the miniature is an integral part. A notice on fol. 197v reads: "Remember, O Lord, the soul of Thy servant Theophylactos, the pious man and choir-leader who presented this book to the holy monastery of the Great Lavra of St. Athanasius, and may Thou deem him worthy of Thy kingdom, amen."[24] Certainly, Theophylactos was not the scribe and the manuscript was not made in Lavra. He obviously brought it with him from elsewhere. Had the manuscript been produced in Lavra the illustrator would have indicated the saint as "Our Holy Father."

The first Lavra portrait appears again, though modified, on a badly flaked miniature, published here for the first time, found in *cod. Protaton 40*, fol. 18, containing the *Vita* and an Ἀκολουθία for St. Athanasius.[25] The manuscript can be dated to the thirteenth century (a good criterion for this date is provided by the rendering of the ornament, fol 4) and can be assigned to the so-called family of *cod. 2400* (Figs. 3, 4).[26] The saint is represented in bust form under a pediment supported by two columns. His depiction is more conventional now in that both hands are in front. He holds the cross in the right hand and raises his left in front of his breast, a stance typical in representations of martyrs.[27] In the rendering of the face, and we can only study the contours, the unknown illuminator has followed the earlier Lavra portrait. His name was inscribed vertically and the following fragment, to the saint's right hand side, is still readable: O A[ΓΙΟC AΘAN] ACIOC. If this reading is

24. Μνήσθητι Κύριε τὴν ψυχήν τοῦ δούλου σου Θεοφυλάκτου εὐτελοῦς μοναχοῦ καὶ χοροστάτου τοῦ δωρησαμένου τὴν βίβλον ταύτην εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν μονήν τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀθανασίου τῆς μεγάλης Λαύρας καὶ ἀξίωσον αὐτόν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν σου. ἀμήν.

25. The miniature of the *cod. Protaton 40* has not been included in S. M. Pelekanides, *et al., The Treasures of Mount Athos: Illuminated Manuscripts, Miniatures-Headpieces-Initial Letters* (Athinai: Ekdotike Athenon, 1973-), I, 390.

26. The history and problem of this family of manuscripts is reviewed by H. Buchthal, "An Unknown Byzantine Manuscript of the 13th Century," *Connoisseur*, 155 (1964), 217 ff.; cf. *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts from American Collections. An Exhibition in Honor of K. Weitzmann* (Princeton: The Art Museum, Distributed by Princeton Univ. Press, 1973), no. 45. For the latest discussion, see A. Cutler and A. Weyl Carr, "The Psalter Benaki 34.3," *Revue des études byzantines*, 34 (1976), 281-323.

27. For example, see the standing portraits of the seven Maccabees in the *cod. Athos., Panteleimon 6*, fol. 53r, in G. Galavaris, *The Illustrations of the Liturgical Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1969), pl. XXVIII, Fig. 144; for a color reproduction, see Pelekanides, *Treasures of Mount Athos*, II, pl. 303.

correct then the remaining part of the inscription on the opposite side—it has now disappeared—should have read: O EN TΩ AΘΩ. Because of the condition no discussion is possible, and the portrait is included here for pure iconographic interest, for it shows that the earlier portrait had its followers.

It is, however, the second, more traditional portrait which, as we believe, was made for the Lavra monks, that marks the beginnings of the traditional iconography of the saint. It is one of the first examples of the type-portrait commonly found in various known portraits of St. Athanasius of Athos. All of them, dating from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century, show him in the timeless age of the hermits portrayed in the frescoes of the monasteries (Figs. 5-10). In the *Protaton* and Lavra portraits, Athanasius is represented holding an open, inscribed scroll in his left hand and a cross in his right; or, the cross is omitted and the saint is shown blessing (Figs. 5-7). In the Dionysiou and St. Paul frescoes he is represented either unfolding his scroll or holding it with both hands as if to display its contents (Figs. 8 and 9). In the portrait by Dionysius of Fourna the earlier iconography is still reflected but with a change: the right hand is raised, palm open, in front of the breast (Fig. 10). In all these portraits there are changes in the treatment of the beard and hair as well. In the *Protaton* fresco, Panselinos has opted for a more decorative treatment of the three locks of hair. In the portraits in the *Trapeza* and the *Katholikon* of Lavra, the beard is broadly executed so that the iconographic element of a two-pointed beard is not stressed. There are also differences in the extent of baldness which is emphasized more in the Lavra frescoes. All these variations and features are indeed imprints of the style of each individual artist and of the period or school he represents. It is also true that in every case artists have their own preferences for the use of line, their own approach to the concept of form and their own vocabulary of morphology.

Nevertheless, each one of these artists, while remaining faithful to the type-portrait, has rendered a different aspect of the "character-portrait" of St. Athanasius. In fact these various artists, each within his own possibilities and within the traditional iconography, have recreated a "character-portrait" which renders one or more of the many facets of the personality of the founder of monasticism of Athos. In the *Protaton*, the powerful portrait of Athanasius is a work of the great Panselinos, executed most porbably in the first quarter of the fourteenth century (Fig. 5).[28] It is true that like other masters

28. The figure is on the north wall, fourth zone, of the southeast chapel; see Millet, *Monuments de l'Athos: Les Peintures,* fig. 54, 3; A. Xyngopoulos, *Manuel Panselinos* (Athinai: Athens' Editions, 1956); unfortunately, the frescoes in this book are reproduced after modern watercolors; *idem,* Συνεδίασμα, pp. 6 and 64; *idem,* "Mosaiques et fresques de l'Athos," *Le Millénaire,* II, 247-62; *idem, Thessalonique et la peinture Macédonienne* Ἑταιρεία Μακεδονικῶν Σπουδῶν, 7 (Athinai: Imprim. M. Myntides, 1955). Four portraits of saints have recently been published by Pelekanides, *Treasures of Mount Athos,* I, 26 and 27. For the various problems relating to the *Protaton* frescoes and further

of the Palaeologue period, Panselinos follows certain artistic devices; for example, he paints the wrinkles on the old faces in a stylized manner, as if they were ornaments. This, however, does not prevent him from creating "character-portraits." Scholars, like Xyngopoulos and Mylonas, have pointed out the real genius of the master in psychological portrayals of human personalities. With great understanding of souls and minds, he reveals the characters of his sitters. For Athanasius, Panselinos has not chosen a benevolent face. Here is Athanasius the demanding leader, wearing the expression that inspired fear and commanded respect. Here is the strong and indefatigable man who possessed an exceptional strength and will. And yet, the same artist has painted in the same church, some very different portraits of ascetics where their benevolence is stressed. For example, St. Eustace is portrayed with bright and kind eyes, the bishops Dionysius and Ignatius are portrayed as models of human dignity.[29] The *Protaton* image was most probably the model for Athanasius' portrait found in a fresco fragment, now preserved in the monastery of St. Paul. Once it belonged to the old church of the monastery decorated in 1447 and demolished in 1839.[30]

The images of the saint on the walls of the Great Lavra are different. Three portraits have been preserved one of which, probably the earliest, is fragmentary and not *in situ*. The fragment, a photo of which was published recently by Professor Mylonas, is kept today in an old wing of the refectory, which has been transformed into a museum. There is no indication of the original location of the fresco.[31] The saint, identified by a fragmentary inscription and by the iconographic type, is shown as an old but vigorous man holding an open scroll in one hand and blessing with the other. Stylistically, the work reflects the Palaeologue tradition, exemplified by the *Protaton* frescoes, for instance, in the arrangement of the masses, in the richness of the hair and in the expressiveness of the face. But the different system of highlights and a more linear treatment point to a later century. Professor Mylonas suggests tentatively a fifteenth-century date which is plausible. I venture to suggest that perhaps the fragment belonged to an earlier fresco decoration existing in the *Katholikon* at least, as far as we know, before the arrival of Theophanes

bibliography, see M. Restle, "Athos," in *Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst*, I, cols. 389-421, esp. cols. 412-13. Professor Restle is correct in pointing out the urgent need for a complete publication of the *Protaton* frescoes, especially after their recent cleaning and restoration.

29. Millet, *Monuments de l'Athos: Les Peintures*, pl. 52, 2. Splendid color reproductions of some of the frescoes are to be found in the 1973 Calendar of the Commercial Bank of Greece in Athens with a short introduction to Panselinos by P. Mylonas.

30. See Xyngopoulos, "Mosaiques," pp. 247-62, esp. pp. 255-56.

31. See P. M. Mylonas, *Athos, Formes dans un lieu sacré* (Athinai, 1974), pl. 2. This book, which I could not obtain on this continent, was brought to my attention by my colleague Professor Doula Mouriki of Athens, who also provided the relevant material through my sister Mrs. Maria Galavaris-Damianos. I thank both most sincerely.

in the sixteenth century.[32] In terms of "character-portrait," the image conveys the vigor and majesty of Athanasius and above all "the richness of his wisdom." Although frontally represented, he casts his glance distinctly to the left and the entire face bears the expression of a quiet but firm pleading. He is portrayed as if imploring the brethren for the sake of the love of God to obey "their leader as they did obey his [Athanasius'] humility."[33]

The *Trapeza* frescoes have deteriorated because of their proximity to the kitchen and have been repainted several times. But a recent partial cleaning has provided evidence that restorations and retouchings have not altered basically the original aspect of the frescoes. Generally dated between 1522 and 1535 and attributed to Theophanes the Cretan, the compositions show stylistic devices applicable to all figures such as the extremely highlighted areas which tend to diminish the effect of the facial wrinkles.[34] Within these general stylistic features Athanasius' portrait stands out and commands special attention (Fig. 6).[35] In comparison to portrayals of other ascetics on these walls, Athanasius is distinguished not by a simple conventional differentiation but by an expression which is not that of tranquility. The master has drawn diagonal lines over the eyebrows so that the eyes seem contracted. The resulting expression is that of suffering or of conflict, psychological states occuring in the *Vita.* One can think, for example, of the distress Athanasius experienced when Nicephorus, his friend, accepted the imperial throne and forgot his vow to join him in his solitude on Athos. Or, we can recall another episode which occurred in a place called Melana on Mt. Athos, where Athanasius had taken refuge to escape from praise and glory. There he was to fight hard against the demons. The battle was so strong, the author of the *Vita* tells us, that the Holy Man felt fear and was prepared to leave the place and return to Caryes to confess the affair to the brethren. But, the next day, having read "the third

32. A. Xyngopoulos, "Nouveaux témoignages de l'activité des peintres macédonienes au Mont-Athos," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift,* 52 (1959), 61-67; M. Chatzidakis, "Recherches sur le peintre Théophane le Crétois," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers,* 23-24 (1969-70), 309-52, esp. 317, the most fundamental study on Theophanes.

33. See Petit, "Vie de saint Athanase," p. 17.

34. Contrary to the date 1512 previously accepted, Xyngopoulos has argued with good reasons for the dates 1527-35; see his Σχεδίασμα, p. 109; *idem,* "Mosaiques," pp. 257 ff. However, the earlier date finds supporters; see Kalokyres, Ἀθως, pp. 55-98, who does not accept the authorship of Theophanes for the *Trapeza* frescoes. Against the exclusive authorship of Theophanes and for the date 1522 is also inclined A. Karakatsani in her work on the icons of the Stavroniketa Monastery in which she has reviewed the problem of date and authorship of the frescoes; see Ch. Patrineli, A. Karakatsani, *et al. The Monastery of Stavroniketa,* The National Bank of Greece (Athinai, 1974), pp. 51 ff. For the problems of the Lavra Refectory, see Chatzidakis, "Théophane," pp. 319 ff. and fig. 26-29, images of saints after cleaning.

35. The portrait is located on the third zone of the west wall to the north of the apse in the Trapeza. For the exact disposition, see Millet, *Monuments de l'Athos: Les peintures,* pls. 144, 1 and 145, 3, and more recent views of the *Trapeza* frescoes in general in Chatzidakis, "Théophane," figs. 30-33.

hour," heavenly light came to him and he was surrounded by it. Athanasius was filled with an untold happiness and shed sweet tears. It was then that he received the gift of contrition and of tears without pain. These are the tears of the mystics which form one of the steps leading to the consumation of Divine Love. The master of the *Trapeza* fresco, whether Theophanes or another Cretan painter as few scholars prefer to suggest, has indicated a definite struggle within the holy man, the state of redeeming tears.

The *Katholikon* frescoes, signed and dated by Theophanes in 1535, have suffered retouchings which, however, have not altered the original concepts of the portrayals of the various holy men. In the case of Athanasius, it is his physical presence that is stressed (Fig. 7).[36] The horizontal lines over the forehead, the sharpness of the design, the reduction of the curves in the contours of the head, convey the impression of an earthly presence, of a person of physical strength and moral courage. In this portrait we recognize the real presence of Athanasius who stresses the toil of man in order to achieve the joy of heaven. Here is the saint who could pull the wagon by sheer physical strength and will power. "Let us toil, brethren, so that we may enjoy the things of heaven," so runs the message on the open scroll in his left hand, which was not accidentally chosen. It reflects the facet of the saint's character which the artist has chosen to represent. In this portrait the physical presence is coupled with a tranquility of the soul, a certainty, achieved after years of prayer and Divine Love. The power of this portrait can be asserted better by a comparison with the portrait of St. Anthony the Great in the same church.[37] It is the same master who has created both portraits, among other features, as it can be attested by the similarities in the way the drapery covers the body and the use of line to describe the contours. Yet, the difference between the two portraits is remarkable. St. Anthony appears remote, as if belonging already to another world. Athanasius is real. Once more his portrait has an air of authenticity. Does the choice of two different facets of the character of the saint in his monastery reflect simply the idiosyncracy of the master, if, indeed, Theophanes is the painter of both the *Trapeza* and the *Katholikon* frescoes as we personally believe? Or, has the painter chosen intentionally to represent in each case different facets of the character of the holy man? Was the indication of Athanasius' struggle in the *Trapeza* portrait to provide an example of endurance, rewarded by divine visitation, an illustration, as it were, to accompany the edifying readings offered to the monks during meal hours? Was the stress upon Athanasius' physical presence and his soul's tranquility in the *Katholikon* to reinforce his actual and perpetual role

36. Xyngopoulos, Σχεδίασμα, pp. 95 and 100 ff.; *idem*, "Mosaiques," pp. 259 ff.; and Chatzidakis, "Théophane," pp. 317 ff. The portrait is located in the second zone west side, south transept; see Millet, *ibid.*, pl. 138, 1.

37. See Millet, *ibid.*, pl. 138, 3.

as guardian of his flock? Were the monks to recognize in it the constant presence of their leader? These questions must remain unanswered.

In the frescoes of the *Katholikon* of the Dionysiou monastery, the master, Zorzi the Cretan (1547), followed the prototypes established by Theophanes in his technique, style and even in iconography as a comparison of his interpretation of Athanasius' portraits shows (Fig. 8).[38] Zorzi, however, has reinterpreted the models according to his own temperament. He displays greater stylization, uses darker tones and emphasizes the saints' ascetic austerity. Within these stylistic features Athanasius is again individualized and the qualities of his character presented here differ essentially from those in the Lavra portrayals. Athanasius' eagerness, his vitality, strength and above all determination and strong will are stressed in this portrait.

Contrary to these images, the portrait in the chapel of St. George in the monastery of St. Paul (1555) reveals an artist who needed a prescribed model, and who had no power to penetrate the depths of a sitter's personality (Fig. 9).[39] A rather banal rendering is to be seen also in the post sixteenth-century (?), and probably restored, portrait of Athanasius in the north narthex of the Protaton. He is portrayed standing next to Peter of Athos.[40] The last portrait on Mount Athos of some interest is found on the wall of the chapel of Dionysius of Fourna, the author of the famous Ἑρμηνεία, located in his cell in Caryes, known today as the Cell of Meletius (Fig. 10). It was painted in 1711. Xyngopoulos has made us aware of the dependance of these figures on the frescoes of the *Protaton* by Panselinos, but there is here a certain harshness and a metallic quality in the style and a simplification of the Protaton artistic mode.[41] The extreme linearism and the denial of physical presence is not confined to Athanasius. It applies to the image of Ephrem the Syrian, standing next. Yet Dionysius, who indeed is an inferior painter, has managed to individualize the two ascetics not simply by slight changes in type and attributes but by means of expression. Ephrem seems to be a stereotype, an unclear shadow on the wall, while Athanasius appears to be living.

38. Xyngopoulos, Σχεδίασμα, p. 113; *idem*, "Mosaiques," p. 259; Kalokyres, Ἀθως, pl. 33, B. The portrait is located on the southwest chapel of the nave, west wall, fourth zone. For a photo showing the exact location, see F. Fichtner, *Wandmalereien der Athos-Klöster* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, Ernst Vohsen, 1931), pl. 18.

39. Xyngopoulos, Σχεδίασμα, p. 169; *idem*, "Mosaiques," p. 260; Chatzidakis, "Théophane," p. 322. Athanasius, shown with St. Anthony the Great, Peter of Athos, and Paul of Xeropotamou, is located in the narthex, west wall. Millet, *ibid.*, pl. 191, 1, and Fichtner, pls. 16 and 51.

40. P. Huber, *Athos, Leben, Glaube, Kunst* (Zürich and Freiburg: Atlantis-Verlag, 1969), pl. 202; a color reproduction of Peter of Athos only, shown next to Athanasius, can be found in F. Spunda, *Legenden und Fresken vom Berg Athos* (Stuttgart, n.d.), plate opposite p. 104.

41. The portrait is found inside the entrance on the left hand side; see Millet, *ibid.*, pl. 261, 3; Xyngopoulos, Σχεδίασμα, pp. 292 ff. and 296.

Despite the weakness of the artist, we can still discern his effort to portray the old fragile Athanasius with a stern face full of determination.

In comparison to the diversity of all these portraits, the precious icon which is now in the Katholikon of Lavra, although it follows the type, has lost the character of the sitter. The icon was not made on Mt. Athos. According to an inscription on the silver cover the icon was a gift to the Lavra by the Grand Voevod Vladislav of Romania and his wife Anna in the year 1521.[42] This imported icon leads us to some of the portraits of Athanasius that exist outside Athos. There are not many, and the few known to me show that the iconographic tradition has lost its accuracy and that the character presentation has lost its focus. In the church of St. Nikita in Gučer, Yugoslavia (1309-20), Athanasius is no longer διχαλογένης (Fig. 11).[43] His face is almost lost in the beard and hair. The original type is hardly reflected. The master follows the stylistic trends of his time but we cannot say that he portrays a facet of Athanasius' character. This is also true for the sixteenth century frescoes (1533) in the Panagia Rasiotissa, in Kastoria, although here we recognize at least the type (Fig. 12).[44]

The following conclusions can be reasonably drawn. The "character-portrait" in the hands of the creative Byzantine artist is one of the means by which he can trespass the prescribed iconography and acquire his freedom. He tries to understand the depths of his sitter's soul and following the image he has formed of the holy man's character he can render one of many aspects of the saint's personality. The rules of iconography do not apply to the saint's image which the artist has conceived. The best "character-portraits" of Athanasius are found in Athos monasteries, while the power of characterization is lost or greatly diminished elsewhere. This is not difficult to explain. On the Holy Mountain Athanasius is ever alive. He continues to live not in the versions of his life which the inhabitants of the Holy Community still read and comment upon, but in the miracles of which the monks continue to speak and which they expect to happen. He lives in the contemplation of the monks whose life is centered, and this is true above all in Lavra, around his presence.[45] The masters who decorated the large walls of the monasteries and in-

42. The icon has been reproduced in color in M. Beza, *Byzantine Art in Romania* (London: B. T. Batsford, Ltd., 1940), frontispiece.

43. G. Millet, *La peinture du moyen âge en Yougoslavie,* 4 vols. (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1954-69), III (album presented by A. Frolow), pl. 47, 3.

44. Pelekanides, Καστορία, pl. 228B.

45. The author, during his visits to the Holy Mountain, had personal experiences of the impact the personality of St. Athanasius continues to have upon the monks. Few modern writers have conveyed successfully the spirit of life and piety on Athos. Cf. C. Cavarnos, *Anchored in God: An Inside Account of Life, Art and Thought on the Holy Mountain of Athos* (Athinai: Aster Pub. Co., 1959); and on the lighter side, E. Kästner, *Die Studentrommel vom heiligen Berg Athos* (Wiesbaden: Insel-Verlag, 1956), with several reprints, the latest in 1975.

cluded his portraits among those of the great ascetics, did not depend on painters' manuals, whatever they might have been, or on instructions which they received from the abbot or the leader of their own workshop. They depended on the living word which nourished their vision. The stories of the monks about Athanasius, the land itself on which he had stepped and struggled, the poems and the ἀκολουθίαι the monks composed about him—these were parts of the artist's experience out of which their own image of the saint was born. The unique features of the saint's character had become experiences and according to the inner needs of each artist who undertook the task of delineating Athanasius' features a particular facet of his personality was given form. To put it differently, the artist identified himself with one aspect of Athanasius' character and it was that part which found a place on the walls of the Athos monasteries. Thus the artists could supplement the oral tradition with their own visual concept of the holy man and offer to the monks another source for meditation on him. And depending on the greatness of the artists' gift, their devotion, the extent of their contemplation, their humility, the forms taking shape radiate the mystic grace of the saint. In this way, while the type-portrait is always the same, the "character-portrait" is always ever young, that is, the possibility of renewal is always open. When the reality of the saint's presence was not within a particular community, but was only reflected through his deeds and thought, the strength of his "character-portrait" was lost because the artist could not experience the power of his presence. His "character-portrait" was assimilated to the general idea of sainthood.

McGill University

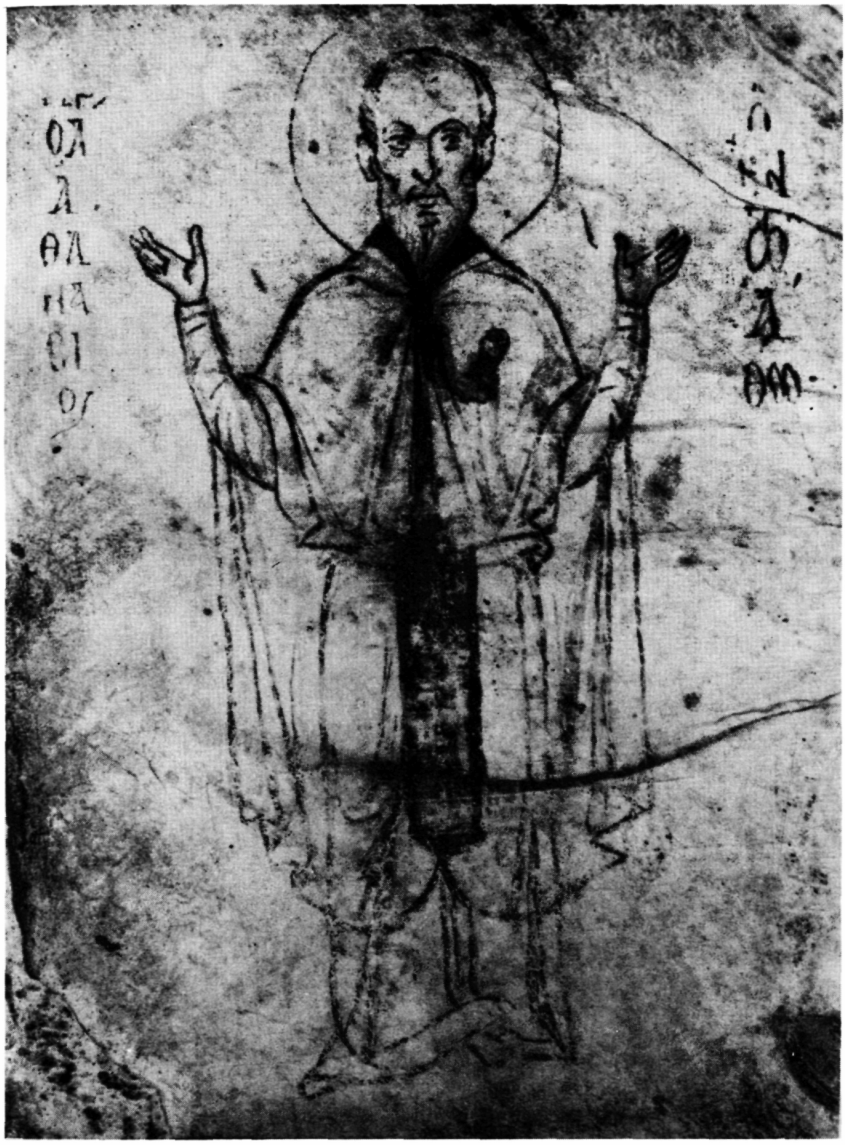

Fig. 1: Athos, *cod. Lavra K 122.*

Fig. 2: Athos, *cod. Lavra E 194.*

Fig. 3: Athos, *cod. Protaton 40.*

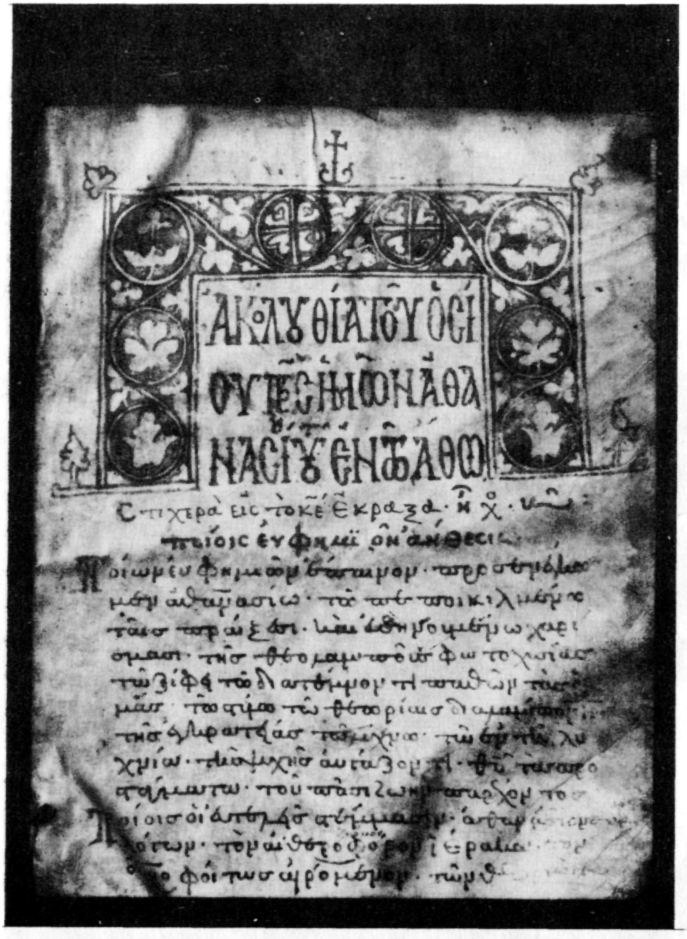

Fig. 4: Athos, *cod. Protaton 40.*

Fig. 5: Athos, *Protaton.*

Fig. 6: Athos, *Lavra, Trapeza.*

Fig. 7: Athos, *Lavra, Katholikon.*

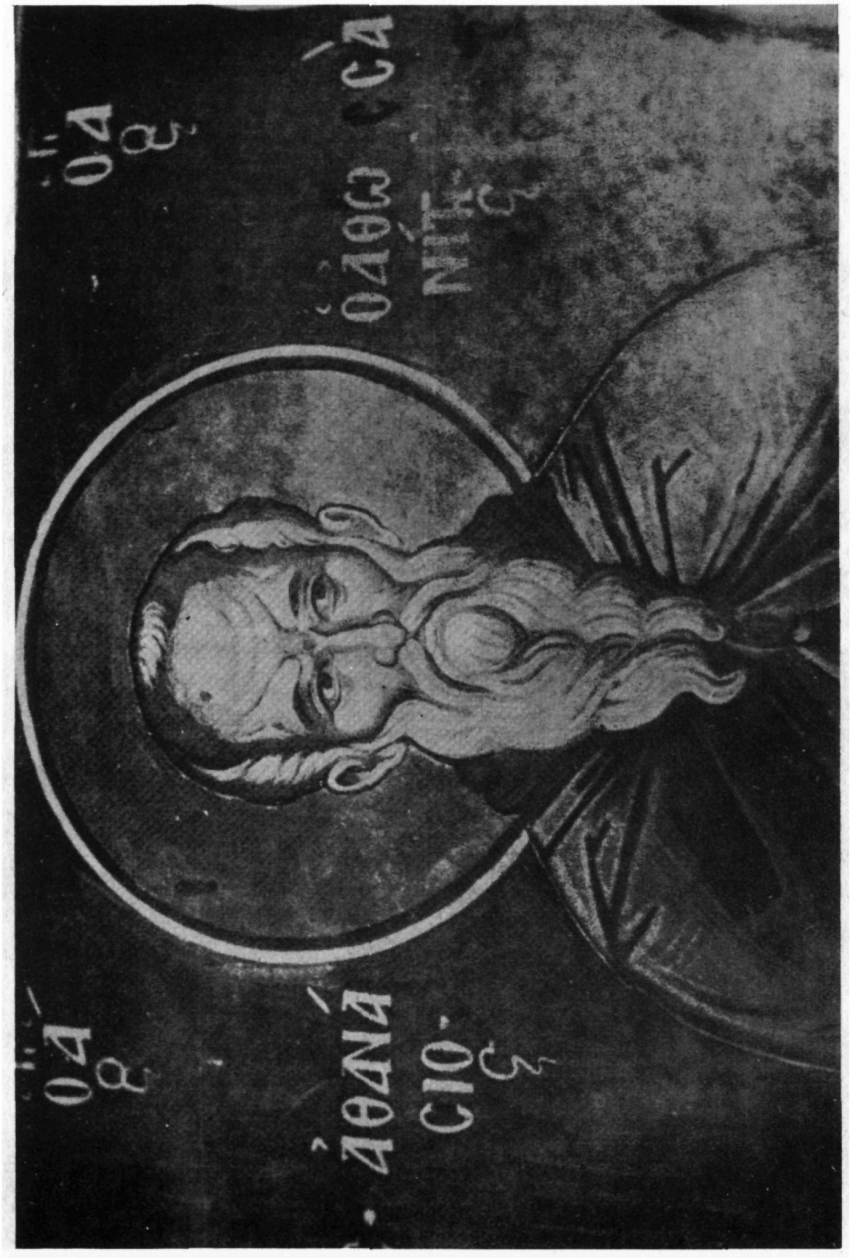

Fig. 8: Athos, *Dionysiou, Katholikon.*

Fig. 9: Athos, *St. Paul, Chapel of St. George.*

Fig. 10: Athos, *Karyes, Chapel of Dionysius of Fourna.*

Fig. 11: Gučer, Yugoslavia, *Church of St. Nikita.*

Fig. 12: Kastoria, *Church of Panagia Rasiotissa.*

BYZANTINE STUDIES/ETUDES BYZANTINES, 5, Pts. 1-2 (1978), 125-36.

ANTONIO GARZYA (Naples, Italie)

Problèmes textuels dans la correspondance de Synésios

ep. 4 (5 Garzya*) = p. 643, 6-21 Hercher.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄπορον ἦν ὁδῷ χρήσασθαι, μηδενὸς ἀνθρώπων ὁρωμένου, πάλιν ἐπετολμήσαμεν τῇ θαλάσσῃ· καὶ ἄραντες εὐθὺς ἀρχομένης ἡμέρας ἐπλέομεν ἐκ πρύμνης ἀνέμῳ πᾶσαν αὐτὴν καὶ τὴν ἐπιγενομένην ἡμέραν, ἧς ἤδη ληγούσης τὸ πνεῦμα ἀπέλιπεν ἡμᾶς, καὶ ἠμεῖς ἠνιάθημεν. ἐμέλλομεν δὲ ἄρα ποθήσειν γαλήνην. ἦν μὲν οὖν τρισκαιδεκάτη φθίνοντος, ἐπηωρημένου δὲ τοσούτου κινδύνου, μελλούσης εἰς ταὐτὸ συνδραμεῖσθαι τῆς τε συνόδου τῶν ἄστρων καὶ τῶν πολυθρυλήτων τυχαίων, ἃ μηδεὶς ποτέ φασι πλέων ἐθάρσησε, καὶ δέον ἡμᾶς ἐλλιμενίζειν, οἳ δ' ἐλελήθειμεν αὖθις ἀναδεδραμηκότες ἐπὶ τὸ πέλαγος. ἡ δὲ στάσις ἤρξατο μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρκτικῶν πνευμάτων, καὶ ὑσέ γε πολλὰ κατὰ τὴν συνοδικὴν νύκτα. ἔπειτα ἠκόσμει τὰ πνεύματα, καὶ ἡ θάλαττα κυκεὼν ἐγεγόνει·

Il s'agit d'un passage de la description, entremêlée de réalisme et de rhétorique,[1] d'un voyage le long de la côte africaine, d'Alexandrie à Cyrène, périlleux à cause d'une brusque tempête. Le bateau a été contraint de s'abriter dans une petite baie solitaire. Après deux jours d'attente inutile il reprend la mer par un vent favorable et navigue encore durant une bonne journée et demie. Puis le vent tombe, les voyageurs sont déçus par le trop grand calme; pour bien peu de temps, hélas, car la tempête revient furibonde et change leur déception en désespoir.

En rédigeant, après le sauvetage, le compte rendu des événements à l'intention de son frère, Synésios constate qu'une grave imprudence avait été commise: en négligeant un concours de circonstances tout à fait défavorables à la navigation, on avait repris la mer au lieu de se tenir encore à l'ancre. Bien que s'agissant de choses "bien connues," il ne renonce pas à s'attarder un moment. Cette divagation–12 *sqq.*–pour ainsi dire, étiologique, introduite par le typique *μὲν οὖν* rétrospectif, est occupée en bonne partie par la description, assez complexe, du danger incombant que l'on aurait dû

* Je me réfère à la numérotation des lettres dans mon édition, dont la parution est imminente (à Rome, dans la série *Scriptores Graeci et Latini Consilio Academiae Lynceorum Editi*). A propos du passage de la lettre 4 je n'ai pu tenir compte d'un article touchant en partie le même sujet et paru quand le mien était déjà sous presse (D. Roques, "La lettre 4 de Synésios de Cyrène," *Revue des Etudes grecques*, 90 [1977], 263-95).

1. Cf. X. Simeon, *Untersuchungen zu den Briefen des Bischofs Synesios von Kyrene*, Rhetorische Studien, 18. Heft (Paderborn: F. Schöningh, 1933), pp. 62-78.

éviter. Nous commençons par en esquisser l'exégèse.

D'abord la question de l'expression *τρισκαιδεκάτη φθίνοντος*: à quel jour du mois correspond–elle ici? On a donné plusieurs réponses. Comme Synésios montre ailleurs de suivre le calendrier égyptien[2] et qu'en Attique on avait eu coutume de compter inversement les jours de la dernière décade du mois,[3] il s'agirait selon certains savants (Petavius, Druon, Grützmacher) du dix-huitième d'un mois égyptien. Mais, si sur ce dernier point aucune certitude n'est possible, bien que le contexte fasse penser tout naturellement au mois lunaire ou astronomique, non pas à celui d'un calendrier en particulier, le compte en arrière est sûrement à exclure, car il ne fut en vigueur qu'en Attique, et sans continuité et, en tout cas, pas au delà du IVe siècle a. Chr. Tillemont mit en œuvre une théorie encore plus sophistiquée: le jour visé aurait été le trente troisième d'un mois accru de cinq jours intercalaires, mais il ne rencontra pas de faveur.[4] La solution, par contre, se trouve dans une scholie tardive ad l.,[5] qui à son tour est à confronter avec la seconde partie de la scholie à Aristophane citée ci-dessus, tardive elle aussi mais remontant, comme la précédente, à des sources anciennes,[6] et avec d'autres données offertes par le texte même de notre lettre (641.15 *sqq*. Herch., etc.): le jour en question est le mardi 28, ou de janvier ou de mai de l'an 402.

D'autres points qui ont besoin d'un éclaircissement préalable: . . . *μελλούσης εἰς ταὐτὸ συνδραμεῖσθαι τῆς τε συνόδου τῶν ἄστρων καὶ τῶν . . . τυχαίων*.

Il ne faut pas construire *τῆς συνόδου* avec et les astres et les *τυχαῖα*, en négligeant le *τε* (comme semble le faire, p. ex., Fitzgerald,[7] mais prendre

2. Cf. p. ex., *ep.* 13: *ἐννεακαιδεκάτη τοῦ Φαρμουθὶ μηνός*, 36 (= 33 Gar.) *ἐκκαιδεκάτῃ μηνὸς Ἀθύρ*.

3. De *νουμηνία* ou *δευτέρα ἱσταμένου* (= 1.er) jusqu'à *δεκάτη ἱσταμένου*: 1.ère décade; de *ἐνδεκάτη* (= 11) jusqu'à *εἰκοστή* ou *μεγάλη εἰκάς* ou *δεκάτη προτέρα*: 2.de décade; de *δεκάτη φθίνοντος* ou *δ. ὑστέρα* (= 21) jusqu'à *ἕνη καὶ νέα*. Cf. *sch.* Ar., *nub.* 1131 (première partie) = p. 43 *sq.* Koster . . . *εἶτα ἀναποδίζοντες τὸν ἀριθμὸν τὴν μὲν κα'δεκάτην ἔλεγον φθίνοντος, τὴν δὲ κβ'ἐνάτην . . . τὴν κθ'δευτέραν, προστιθέντες ἑκάστῃ τῶν τοιούτων ἀριθμήσεων τὸ φθίνοντος*.

4. Discussion et références bibliographiques chez Ingeborg Hermelin, *Zu den Briefen des Bischofs Synesios*, Diss. (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells boktryckeri-a.-b., 1934), p. 31 *sq.*

5. Ed. A. Garzya, "Nuovi scolii alle Epistole di Sinesio," *Bollettino della Commissione Edizione Nazionale Classici Greci e Latini*, 8 (1960) = *Storia e interpretazione di testi bizantini: saggi e ricerche* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1974), XXVII, p. 49, 22: . . . . *τουτέστιν εἰκοσι ὀκτώ*.

6. *Ἄλλως· Οἱ Ἀττικοὶ οὕτω διήρουν τὸν μῆνα λέγοντες· πρώτη ἱσταμένου, δευτέρα ἱσταμένου, καὶ καθεξῆς οὕτως μέχρι τῶν δέκα. Εἶτα μία ἐπὶ δέκα, δύο ἐπὶ δέκα, τρία ἐπὶ δέκα· τὴν ιε' πρώτην φθίνοντος διὰ τὸ ἐντὸς ταύτης συμπληροῦσθαι τὴν αἴξησιν τῆς σελήνης καὶ τὴν μείωσιν αὖθις ἄρχεσθαι. Ἔπειτα τὴν ἐξκαιδεκάτην δευτέραν φθίνοντος . . . τὴν κη'ιγ'φθίνοντος*.

7. *The Letters of Synesius of Cyrene*, trans. A. Fitzgerald (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1926), p. 86.

σύνοδος d'un côté et τυχαῖα de l'autre comme la corrélation τε . . . καὶ l'impose, le participe μελλούσης se référant aussi, *ad sensum*, à τῶν τυχαίων.[8]

Le terme σύνοδος peut, en lui-même, être construit aussi bien avec un génitif qu'absolument, mais on reviendra bientôt sur ce point.

Τυχαῖος est rare: les lexiques enregistrent la valeur de "fortuit" (p. ex. chez Plutarque, *plac. phil.* 878c; un temple à la Tychè, τὸ Τυχαῖον, est documenté par les inscriptions), celle de "vulgaire, commun" (Eustath., *opusc.*, p. 83.48 *sq.* Tafel), un emploi adverbial (Iamblich., *theol. arithm.* 53); ici le terme, si authentique, devrait se rendre par *fortuita*, "des événements fortuits."

Le relatif ἃ peut, grammaticalement, se rattacher soit à τυχαῖα soit à σύνοδος et τυχαῖα conjointement, mais on reviendra aussi sur ce point.

Cette explication littérale du texte ne suffit pas à en dégager la signification d'une manière exhaustive. Elle souffre, à mon avis, de deux apories, de poids différent, qu'il faut essayer de surmonter.

Commençons par la plus grave, représentée par τυχαίων, et soulignons tout d'abord que le terme est accompagné par l'adjectif πολυθρυλήτων: il ne s'agit donc pas de τυχαῖα génériques, mais de τυχαῖα très bien connus de tous. Denys Petau, dans la traduction accompagnant son édition (1633[3]) interprétait *pervulgata fortuita*, ce qui n'a pas beaucoup de sens, car l'imprévu est la prérogative de tout voyage, par mer ou non, et si l'on devait se laisser décourager chaque fois, on ne partirait jamais. Le même savant note aussi, en marge, une variante, que d'ailleurs il réfute, de cette interprétation: πολυθρύλητα τυχαῖα voudrait dire *pervulgata pericula* (en rapport avec l'acception *in malam partem-mala Sors*-que Τύχη peut avoir), ce qui serait ou bien tautologique, si rattaché au κίνδυνος dont il est question dans le passage, ou bien incompréhensible. Par ailleurs, déjà le même scholiaste que nous avons cité se résignait, faute de mieux, à une explication entre autoschédiastique et tautologique: τυχαίων · τῶν ἄστρων τῶν οὕτω καλουμένων, autrement dit: τῆς συνόδου τῶν ἄστρων καὶ . . . τῶν ἄστρων. Parmi les modernes, à part Hercher, qui se réfugie dans un *famosa illa* anodin, s'aperçurent de la difficulté du terme S. A. Naber[9] et I. Hermelin déjà citée. Le premier savant proposa de corriger τυχαίων en Πλειάδων, sur des bases astronomiques (". . . *Solis cum Pleiadibus coniunctionem incidisse*"), mais sa datation de la circonstance au 27 avril 393 est impossible, l'épître ne pouvant remonter qu'à l'année 402.[10] Il pensait aussi, "*sed*—d'après lui-

8. Cf. p. ex. la traduction de J. Vogt, in *Kyriakon. Festschrift J. Quasten*, ed. P. Granfield et J. A. Jungmann, 2 tomes (Münster/Westf.: Aschendorff, 1970), I, 404: "sollte doch die Begegnung der Gestirne (Neumond), zusammenfallen mit den berüchtigten Gefahrenzeiten. . . ."

9. "Ad Synesii epistulas," *Mnemosyne*, NS, 22 (1894), 100 *sq.*

10. Discussion exhaustive chez Chr. Lacombrade, *Synésios de Cyrène, Hellène et chrétien* (Paris: "Les Belles lettres," 1951), pp. 131 *sqq.*, *praes.* 134, n. 10.

même–*non satis commode*," à Τάδων. La seconde savante, sans toucher au texte, y introduisit une interprétation suggestive, bien que quelque peu hasardeuse, s'appuyant sur la possible valeur néfaste du numéro treize: ce treizième jour aurait été mentionné en tant que "Unglückstag."[11] Il ne semble, toutefois, pas que la relation entre le treize et le mauvais augure ait été à tel point répandue chez les anciens que quiconque eût pu saisir d'emblée l'allusion prétendue.[12]

La clef de voûte est à chercher partant de la lettre de notre texte. Il est hors de doute que la motivation du "grand danger incombant" sur les voyageurs est double: d'une part il y a la conjonction des astres, c'est-à-dire de la lune et du soleil, à l'occasion de la nouvelle lune, de l'autre un second élément bien connu, du moins par le destinataire, et qui, comme on l'a vu, ne peut être en aucune façon justifié si l'on garde dans le texte le mot *τυχαίων*. Qu'il doive s'agir d'un élément d'ordre astronomique[13] est suggéré par le fait que les manuels qui traitent d'horoscopes ou de pronostics, en donnant l'interprétation des différentes conjonctions des astres, insistent fréquemment sur la complexité des indices à considérer et tiennent compte de l'interférence d'autres corps célestes sur la *synodos* principale.[14] Si cela est vrai, le mot que le corrompu *τυχαίων* cache ne peut être que *στοιχείων*. L'acception astronomique de *στοιχεῖον* dans la grécité tardive est assez bien documentée. Les lexiques connaissent une construction avec le génitif épexégétique (Maneth., IV. 624 *οὐρανίων ἄστρων στοιχεῖα*; Aristid., *ap.* 3.2 *ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν στοιχείων ἢ φωστήρων*) et plusieurs emplois absolus, tantôt en général (*στοιχεῖα καυσούμενα λυθήσεται* 2 *ep. Petr.* 3.10; *στοιχεῖα θέοντα or. Chald. fr.* 39.5 Des Pl.; etc.) tantôt pour indiquer le soleil (Eustath., *Od.* 1671. 53) ou la lune (Greg. Nyss., *an. et res.* = *PG*, XLVI, 33a) ou les deux ensemble (Hipp. Rom., *Dan.* 9.8.5. = *PG*, X, 629d), les planètes (Pap. Lond. I.130.60, I-II^{p}; Paul., *Gal.* 4.3) ou le Zodiaque (*τὰ δώδεκα στοιχεῖα* Diog. Läert., VI.102), etc. Notre conjecture répond parfaitement à l'exigence méthodologique d'expliquer l'origine de la corrup-

11. Vogt suit cette exégèse traduisant "der allgemein bekannte Unglückstag."

12. Cf. la brève note chez A. Bouché-Leclerq, *L'astrologie grecque* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1899), p. 460; A. Mommsen, *Chronologie. Untersuchungen über das Kalenderwesen der Griechen* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1883), p. 98.

13. On entrevoit ici une familiarité avec la matière astronomique qui ne peut que surprendre un lecteur moderne accoutumé à considérer cette discipline comme ésotérique ou presque. Mais il ne faut pas oublier qu'il n'en était pas de même pour les hommes du Bas-Empire et du Moyen-Age, pour lesquels l'astronomie faisait partie de la formation générale.

14. Un exemple parmi tant d'autres: Hephaest. Theb., *apot.* I. 24 = Pingree, p. 47, 19-25: *ἀρξόμεθα δὲ τῆς καθ' ἕνα ἕκαστον τῶν πλανωμένων ποιητικῆς ἰδιοτροπίας, ἐκεῖνο κοινῶς ἐπισημαινόμενοι ὅτι ἐν ταῖς συγκράσεσιν οὐ μόνον τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους τῶν πλανωμένων μίξεως δεῖ σκοπεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς τῆς αὐτῆς φύσεως κεκοινωνηκότας, ἤτοι ἀπλανεῖς ἀστέρας ἢ τόπους ζῳδιακοὺς κατὰ τὰς ἀποδεδειγμένας αὐτῶν πρὸς τοὺς πλανῆτας συνοικειώσεις.*

tion: la ressemblance paléographique des deux mots saute aux yeux *primo obtutu*, et si l'on tient compte aussi de la quasi-identité phonétique (à part le sigma initial), on s'aperçoit que la corruption a été causée précisément par la chute d'une lettre: (ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΩΝ =) ΣΤΙΧΙΩΝ>ΤΙΧΙΩΝ>ΤΙΧΕΩΝ (= ΤΥΧΑΙΩΝ). Des cas analogues, particulièrement instructifs, de confusion entre *τυχαῖος* et *τυχιος*, et entre *στοιχεῖον* et *τυχαῖον* se trouvent dans les *Glossae graeco-latinae*.[15]

L'autre aporie textuelle est représentée par *ἄστρων*. Tout fait penser qu'il s'agit d'une glose pénétrée dans le texte, qu'il faut guillemeter. *Σύνοδος* a ici un sens technique bien précis, le même qu'atteste déjà Geminos (8,1 = p. 47 Aujac *μή ἐστι χρόνος ἀπὸ συνόδου ἐπὶ συνόδου . . . ἔστι δὲ σύνοδος μέν, ὅταν ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ μοίρᾳ γένηται ὁ ἥλιος καὶ ἡ σελήνη*; cf. Procl., *sch.* Hes., *opp.* 765-68 = p. 234 Pertusi) et qui demande en règle générale l'emploi absolu;[16] Un contexte tel que *ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης σύνοδος* chez Galien (XVIII^2 240) a tout l'air d'être, dans sa redondance, exceptionnel. Mais *τὰ ἄστρα* n'est pas du tout évident dans le sens de *ἥλιος καὶ σελήνη* et l'expression *τῆς . . . συνόδου τῶν ἄστρων* serait ici incompréhensible plutôt que redondante.

On peut maintenant revenir un peu plus à propos sur l'exégèse de notre passage. Deux sont donc les causes concomitantes (et c'est aux deux qu' *ἃ* se réfère) du péril qu'on aurait dû, et qu'on n'a pas évité: la nouvelle lune d'abord, traditionellement indiquée comme orageuse et peu favorable à la navigation,[17] et ensuite les *πολυθρύλητα στοιχεῖα* (il s'agit évidemment d'un pluriel hyperbolique), dont l'identification est suggérée immédiatement après par le contexte. En effet, la notation relative aux "vents soufflants du nord" qui mettent en branle la pluie et la tempête n'est pas casuelle: c'est sans doute la présence de l'Ourse dans le ciel de la "nuit synodale" que l'écrivain veut souligner en tant que signe prémonitoire aussi bien connu que négligé; il est trop bon rhéteur pour laisser échapper cette occasion d'un jeu de mots tacite entre *ἄρκτον* et *ἀρκτικός* (*ἄνεμος*, *ου ἀπαρκτίας*).[18] Bien, mais parmi les différentes valeurs de *στοιχεῖον* il y a aussi celle de grande Ourse, comme le prouve un papyrus magique de Paris.[19] C'est le

15. Cf. *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum*, ed. G. Goetz, 7 tomes (Leipzig et Berlin: in aedibus B. G. Teubneri, 1888-1923), II, 32; 62 *Genialis* επισημος• γαμηλιος• και στοιχειον [τυχαῖον H.] τυχη; 33, 2 *Genialia* τα τυχια (et VI, 487 s. 'Genialis').

16. Autre est le cas d'expressions telles que *τῶν πλανήτων σύνοδος* Arist., *met.* 343b, 30 *αἱ τῶν μηνῶν σύνοδοι*. *Idem, gen. an.* 738a, 20, etc., dans lesquelles le terme n'a pas de valeur spécifique.

17. Cf. ps.-Theophr., *sign. temp.* 5; Arist., *anal. post.* 2, 15, 98a, 31 sqq., etc.

18. Cf. ps.-Theophr., *sign. temp.* 36 *ἐκνεφίαι δὲ μάλιστα ὁ ἀπαρκτίας καὶ ὁ ἀργέστης*.

19. 1, 1303: cf. C. Wessely, "Griechische Zauberpapyrus von Paris und London," in *Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosoph.-historische Klasse*, 36 (1888), 77 = K. L. Preisendanz, ed., *Papyri Graecae Magicae. Die griechische Zauberpapyri*, 2 tomes (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1928-31), I, 4, 1303.

cas de dire que . . . tout se tient.

A la fin de la longue lettre Synésios a encore une allusion, détachée désormais, ou entre sérieuse et souriante, à cette aventure épouvantable: le mieux serait–dit-il–de ne jamais prendre la mer, et s'il le faut absolument, qu'on évite à tout prix un départ par la lune nouvelle: *σὺ δὲ μηδέποτε πλεύσειας. εἰ δέ ποτε πάντως δεήσει, ἀλλὰ μή τι φθίνοντός γε μηνός*. Ici il y a toutefois quelque chose de plus qu'une simple notation d'ordre pratique; en classiciste accompli Synésios joue encore une fois avec l'*imitatio.*[20] Il a en tête un passage d'Hésiode (*opp.* 814 *sqq.*) qui semble affirmer le contraire en fait de navigation sous la fin du mois: *παῦροι δ' αὖτε ἴσασι τρισεινάδα μηνὸς* (c'est-à-dire le vingt-neuf du mois) *ἀρίστην . . . νῆα πολυκλήιδα θοὴν εἰς οἰνοπα πόντον εἰρύμεναι*; en le rappelant par allusion, selon une technique bien enracinée dans la tradition littéraire des Grecs,[21] il y apporte, pour ainsi dire, une *διόρθωσις* sur la base de sa propre expérience; mais ce faisant il s'insère aussi discrètement dans un débat exégétique, que les vers hésiodiens avaient provoqué et dont les scholies de Proclus ont gardé la trace.[22] Mélange d'érudition et d'humour au crépuscule d'une civilisation raffinée.

ep. 13 = p. 649,17-19
Ἐπεὶ καὶ τῆς ἐνθάδε συνόδου (πλῆθος δὲ συχνῶν ἱερέων) συντυχία τις ἦν, ἣν ὁ νῦν καιρὸς ἤθροισεν, ἐπιθεμένων μοι γράψαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς.

Ainsi les manuscrits sans exceptions. Mais *ἐπιθεμένων μοι* n'a pas de sens et a besoin de correction. La faute n'échappa pas à Marc Musure, l'*editor princeps* (chez Alde, 1499), qui changea le génitif pluriel en datif singulier obtenant la concordance *ἐπιθεμένῳ μοι* acceptée depuis par tous les éditeurs successifs. Cependant ce datif ne satisfait pas. En le faisant dépendre de *συντυχία*, comme il est évident, le correcteur a pensé au sens que le terme a le plus souvent à l'époque classique, celui de "conjoncture, événement" (avec *συνόδου*, ici, comme génitif *pertinentiv*-appositif), et qui admet, même si rarement, un régime au datif;[23] dans le grec de la basse époque, par contre,

20. C'est ce qu'il lui arrive bien souvent; cf. A. Garzya, "Topik und Tendenz in der byzantinischen Literatur," *Anzeiger der philosoph.-historischen Klasse der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 113 (1976), 307 *sq.*

21. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 307.

22. La discussion se déroulait sur la signification de *εἰρύμεναι*, que certains voulaient être non pas celle courante, de "tirer en mer," mais celle de "tirer hors du hangar pour préparer à la navigation"; cf. p. 255, 4 *sqq.* Pertusi . . . *καθέλκειν* [= *εἰρύμεναι*] *προστάττει ναῦς εἰς θάλατταν· ὅτε γὰρ οὐ δεῖ πλεῖν, δεῖ παρασκευάζεσθαι πρὸς τὸ πλεῖν, οἷον δὴ τὸ καθέλκειν ἐστί. πλοῦ δὲ καιρὸς ἥκιστα οὗτος· ταραχώδης γὰρ ὁ ἀὴρ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πᾶν ἐν ταῖς σύνεγγυς ἡμέραις τῶν συνόδων, διόπερ ὅσοι πλέοντες τότε τύχωσι τοὺς ὅρμους καταλαμβάνουσιν, ἕως ἂν ἐκφανῇ ὁ μήν.*

23. Cf., p. es., Theogn., 589 *sq. τῷ δὲ καλῶς ποιεῦντι θεὸς περὶ πάντα τίθησιν–συντυχίην ἀγαθήν.*

le terme acquiert des significations différentes: de "présence," entre autres,[24] ou de "réunion," "rencontre," "conversation." Synésios connaît très bien l'évolution sémantique du vocable, en fait usage ailleurs;[25] qu'il en soit de même ici, paraît hors de doute ("la réunion de ce synode" est le sens le mieux approprié au contexte).

Sur cette base on ne pourra évidemment plus construire *συντυχία* avec un datif. La restauration du texte originaire s'obtiendra au moyen du génitif absolu *ἐπιθεμένων ἡμῶν*: un scribe par trop soucieux de symétrie avait éliminé du texte le pluriel du pronom, ayant pensé de rétablir un autre singulier, sous l'influence de *ᾧ . . . ὅστις . . . αὐτὸς*, qui précèdent immédiatement. Mais Synésios aime en ces cas la variation plus que l'uniformité. Dans la même lettre, quelques lignes avant, on rencontre justement *ἡμῶν . . . ἡμῖν* s'alternant avec les singuliers précités.

ep. 44 (43) = p. 659,3 *sq.*
Τοῦτον, εἴ τι γέγονε, τήμερον ἀναφανῆναί γε δεῖ κατήγορον αὐτοῦ τε κἀμοῦ.

Il n'est pas à exclure que sous *ἀναφανῆναι* se cache *ἀναφῆναι*, qui améliorerait le sens. La tendance à employer les verbes transitifs intransitivement est un trait du grec hellénistique et byzantin[26] ainsi que l'échange du moyen avec l'actif.[27] Dans le cas de *ἀναφαίνω* le phénomène est attesté chez Héliodore (V 22 = p. 168,16 Colonna) et l'alternance *ἀναφῆναι/-φανῆναι* n'est pas sans exemples dans les manuscrits, à partir d'Hérodote (I. 165[28]) jusqu'à Musée (v. 111).

– – = p. 659,22.
. . . θροῦν ἐκεῖνον, εἴτε τὸν ὄντα εἴτε τὸν ἐπιποίητον . . .

24. En opposition à *ἀπουσία* chez. Isid. Pelus., *ep.* I, 281 = *PG*, LXXVIII, col. 348b.

25. Cf. p. ex. *ep.* 100 = p. 698, 2 *sq.* *ὥσπερ οὖν ἐν ἐμοὶ συνελθόντες πάλαι καὶ τὴν συντυχίαν ἀναγνωρισμὸν ποιησάμενοι κτλ.*

26. Cf. E. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit* . . ., 2 tomes en 4 parties (1.ère éd., Berlin-Leipzig, 1906-34), II, 1 (2. de éd., 1938), 82-87; Gertrud Böhlig, *Untersuchungen zum rhetorischen Sprachgebrauch der Byzantiner mit besonderer Berucksichtigung der Schriften des Michael Psellos*, Berliner byzantinistische Arbeiten, Bd. 2 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1956), p. 94.

27. Cf. p. ex. *ep.* 73 = p. 685, 23 (*ἔγραψεν* codd. plerique au lieu de *ἐγράψατο*); *contra* W. Fritz, *Die Briefe des Bischofs Synesius von Kyrene. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Attizismus im IV. und V. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig: Druck und Verlag von B. G. Teubner, 1898), p. 97.

28. A tort corrigé par les éditeurs sous la suggestion de Reiske; cf. Küh.-Bl., § 343, p. 558.

Un cas fort évident d'haplographie. Les manuscrits oscillent entre *ὄντα* et *ὄντως*. La source primaire devait contenir les deux mots: *τὸν ὄντως ὄντα* , un lien typiquement platonicien (cf. *Phaedr.* 247c, al.).

ep. 57 (41) = p. 667,1-4.
Ὡς ἅμα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὰ πράγματα νῦν μὲν ἄνω νῦν δὲ κάτω χωρεῖ, καὶ ῥοῦς ἥκει φέρων ἀθρόα πολλά, νῦν μὲν αἴσια νῦν δὲ ἀπαίσια.

Les manuscrits les plus importants sont divisés ici entre *ἥκει* et *εἰκῇ*. Le verbe est indispensable, l'adverbe l'est moins, mais il n'est pas pour cela à bannir. A mon avis la leçon originaire, à récupérer, était *ἥκει εἰκῇ*, aussi parfaitement intégrée dans le contexte ("c'est comme un flot qui survient à l'aventure emportant pêle-mêle tant de choses . . .") que fragile à cause de l'identité de prononciation apte à faciliter la chute d'un de ses deux éléments.

– – = p. 667,48-50.
Ἀναμνήσθητε γὰρ ὑμεῖς τίς ἦν [Andronicus sc.] *πρὸς ἐμὲ τὸν εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο, ἐξ ἐκείνων γενόμενον, ὧν ἀπ' Εὐρυσθένους κτλ.*

Un cas analogue au précédent: la tradition manuscrite la plus digne de foi se partage entre *πρὸς* et *πρώην*, indispensable la préposition, non indispensable mais fort utile pour le sens l'adverbe. Comme rien ne peut expliquer la corruption éventuelle de *πρὸς* en *πρώην* il faut tout simplement garder les deux: *τις ἦν πρώην πρὸς ἐμὲ*. . . . L'homœo téleuton a provoqué la chute de *πρώην* après *ἦν*.

ep. 67 (66) = p. 676,10-15.
. . . ἔλυσα τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ εἰς τετάρτην ἥκειν ἀπήγγειλα, ἐπαρασάμενος τὰς παλαμναιοτάτας ἀράς, εἴ τις ἐμμίσθως, εἴ τις κατὰ χρείαν ἢ ὅλως ἰδίᾳ τι διαφέρον αὐτῷ φθέγξαιτό τι τῶν ἡκόντων εἰς τὴν τῆς ἐκκλησίας παρακοήν.

Synésios prend, en évêque, des mesures visant à rétablir l'ordre troublé dans certaines parties de son diocèse. Il menace quiconque ose, pour une raison quelconque, "proférer mot" contre l'Eglise. Le détail est important: il ne dit pas "qui fasse quelque chose", mais "qui dise" (*φθέγξαιτο*); c'est donc contre des instigateurs à la "désobéissance" (*παρακοή*) qu'il dirige son tir. Le sens requis par la dernière partie du passage n'est autre que le suivant: ". . . qui dise quelque chose de celles qui poussent à désobéir à l'Eglise". Mais aucune des deux leçons transmises par les manuscrits valables, ni *ἡκόντων* ni *εἰκότων* n'est satisfaisante. La seconde n'a pas de sens du tout; la première, pour être grammaticalement acceptable, exigerait pour *ἥκω εἰς*

le sens de "se rapporter à" bien attesté mais qui ne convient pas ici. On éliminera aisément l'aporie du texte en remplaçant *ἠκόντων* par *ἀγόντων*. Le premier degré de la corruption est représenté par l'incompréhensible *εἰκότων*; un lecteur averti, mais pas trop, l'a remplacé par *ἠκόντων* sous la suggestion de *ἥκειν* qui précède de peu.[29]

ep. 103 = p. 701,14*sq.*
Ἀνάγκη δ', εἰ πρὸς τὸν παρὰ σοῦ λόγον ἐνδοίημεν, ὃς εἰς τοῦτό σε προήγαγεν ἁμαρτίας, τὸ φάναι τῆς πόλεως ἕνεκα δεῖν μένειν ἐπὶ τῆς τέχνης.

Il y a confusion, causée par la prononciation, au début du passage: au moins trois leçons s'alternent dans les manuscrits: *δ' εἰ, δὲ εἰ, δή*. Comme la phrase est vigoureusement assévérative, *δή* doit être authentique; *εἰ* et *δ(έ-)*, de leur côté, sont aussi nécessaires. On écrira donc *ἀνάγκη δὲ δή, εἰ. . . .*[30]

ep. 105= p. 705, 27-31.
Χαλεπόν ἐστιν, εἰ μὴ καὶ λίαν ἀδύνατον, εἰς ψυχὴν τὰ δι' ἐπιστήμης εἰς ἀπόδειξιν ἐλθόντα δόγματα σαλευθῆναι. οἶσθα δ' ὅτι πολλὰ φιλοσοφία τοῖς θρυλουμένοις τούτοις ἀντιδιατάττεται δόγμασιν.

Après cette affirmation préliminaire Synésios, évêque élu, énonce les trois points de la doctrine chrétienne que, comme elle est divulguée parmi les fidèles, il ne peut accepter en tant que philosophe: *σαλεύω* a le sens spécifique de "secouer, ébranler" propre au grec chrétien en relation avec "connaissances," "doctrines"; *τούτοις* a le sens de *τοῖσδε*, comme il arrive souvent dans le grec post-classique.[31] Fritz[32] observa à juste titre que la locution *εἰς ψυχήν* dans la première proposition ne peut pas être entendue dans le sens de "in Bezug auf die Seele," primo parce qu'il n'y est pas encore question des différends qui vont être énoncés, secondo parce que ceux-ci concernent non seulement l'âme (et son immortalité), mais aussi la fin du monde et la résurrection des corps. Elle ne peut non plus dépendre de *ἐλθεῖν*, "nicht nur wegen der Häufung der beiden Präpositionalausdrücke mit *εἰς*, sondern auch deswegen, weil in dem rein bildlichen Ausdruck *εἰς ἀπόδειξιν ἐλθεῖν* das periphrastische *ἐλθεῖν* nicht mehr stark genug sein wird, eine

29. On peut aussi se figurer les choses d'une autre façon: *ἀγόντων* est chassé par *ἠκόντων* (homœoarcte après *ἥκειν*); *ἠκόντων* est transcrit *εἰκόντων* (erreur d'itacisme) dans une phase perdue de la tradition; *εἰκόντων* à son tour est remplacé par le (relativement!) plus intelligible *εἰκότων* (*l. fac.*).
30. Sur la liaison *δὲ δή*, cf. Denniston, *Particles*, pp. 259. 460.
31. Cf. Böhlig, p. 61 *sq.*
32. Fritz, p. 217.

neue lokale Bestimmung von sich abhängig zu lassen." Par conséquent le savant proposa l'exponction de *εἰς ψυχὴν* en tant que glose à l'ensemble du passage, transposée de· la marge dans le texte. Mais son remède est trop drastique. La leçon transmise peut être défendue, et conservée, en rattachant *εἰς φυχὴν* à *χαλεπόν ἐστι (-ἀδύνατον)*: "pour l'âme il est difficile, sinon impossible tout à fait, . . ." On s'y attendrait, à vrai dire, le datif absolu, mais des périphrases substituent souvent ce cas dans le grec tardif, même chez Synésios.[33]

– – = p. 705, 46-43.
Νοῦς *μὲν οὖν φιλόσοφος ἐπόπτης ὢν τἀληθοῦς συγχωρεῖ τῇ χρείᾳ τοῦ ψεύδους. ἀνάλογον γάρ ἐστι φῶς πρὸς ἀλήθειαν καὶ ὄμμα πρὸς νοῦν. ἢ οὖν · ὀφθαλμὸς εἰς κακὸν ἂν ἀπολαύσειεν ἁπλήστου φωτὸς καὶ ἢ ὀφθαλμιῶσι τὸ σκότος ὠφελιμώτερον, ταύτῃ καὶ τὸ ψεῦδος ὄφελος εἶναι τίθεμαι δήμῳ καὶ βλαβερὸν τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῖς οὐκ ἰσχύουσιν ἐνατενίσαι πρὸς τὴν τῶν ὄντων ἐνάργειαν.*

C'est la continuation du passage précédent. Synésios précise que, s'il ne peut pas, en philosophe, accepter certains dogmes de l'Eglise, il n'est pas non plus prévenu contre le peuple qui s'en nourrit. Au contraire, il croit que celui-ci ne peut que tirer profit d'un acheminement prudent vers la vérité sous la forme ménagée et divulgative que l'Eglise propose et qui, en tant que mensonge nécessaire, peut être comparée à la pénombre que l'on conseille aux malades des yeux de préférence à la pleine lumière. Le texte imprimé par Hercher se fonde sur une branche de la tradition sûrement interpolée. D'ailleurs, tout le passage dans les dizaines de manuscrits des lettres fourmille de variantes, où vouloir mettre de l'ordre serait entreprise désespérée. Nous nous bornons à examiner ici les trois formes du point le plus estropié, telles qu'on les rencontre dans les manuscrits de base de notre édition.

I *καὶ ὄμμα πρὸς λήμην, οὗ*	(AAvCLMPG^{c})
II *καὶ ὄμμα πρὸς δῆμον, οὗ*	(IU, Planudes)
III *καὶ ὄμμα πρὸς νοῦν. ἢ οὖν*	(VVa).

Il est de toute évidence que I est la *lectio prima* et *difficilior* (*οὗ* circonstanciel, optatif avec *ἄν* dans la relative comme ailleurs chez Synésios). Elle comporte un ordre quadruple et coordonné de rapports qui a été bien présent aux scholiastes, par exemple à celui, inédit, du *cod. Guelf. Gud. gr. 4, saec. XIII* (=G), lequel le réprésente au moyen d'un dessin soutenu par les groupes de mots *φῶς ὄμμα /ἀλήθεια νοῦς // σκότος λήμη / ψεῦδος δῆμος*. L'origine

33. *Ibid.*, p. 137 *sq.*

de la corruption remonte à la majuscule, ΛHMHN ayant été transcrit à un certain moment ΔHMHN. Il y a d'autres fautes de ce genre dans la tradition manuscrite des lettres synésiennes.[34] La *vox nihili* ΔHMHN a été normalisée dans un stade successif (II) en *δῆμον*,[35] mot qui d'ailleurs se rencontre peu après dans le même contexte. Une scholie[36] l'attribue à Maxime Planude: *πρὸς νοῦν· γρ.* Πλανούδης *πρὸς δῆμον*, ce qui ne veut pas nécessairement dire qu'il s'agit d'une conjecture du savant moine. Il se peut que celui-ci ait adopté la leçon trouvée dans un de ses *codices* de Synésios. La solution III est tout à fait indépendante de la recherche d'une ressemblance avec le mot dégradé. Elle essaie une mise en place rationnelle du contexte d'après ses lignes générales en radiant le mot clef, dont l'emploi figuré (de la "chassie" des *ὀφθαλμοί* à celle du *νοῦς*) n'est pourtant pas si rare dans le langage des néo-platoniciens (et néo-platonisants) et des Pères. Un seul exemple, parmi les nombreux possibles, particulièrement pertinent à notre texte: Basil., *ep.* 150.1 = II, 72.24-29 Courtonne *ἔπειτα μέντοι καὶ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀποκαθαρθῆναι, ὥστε, πᾶσαν τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγνοίας ἐπισκότησιν οἵαν τινὰ λήμην ἀφαιρεθέντα, δύνασθαι ἐνατενίζειν τῷ κάλλει τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ, οὐ μικροῦ ἔργου κρίνω οὐδ' ἐπ' ὀλίγον τὴν ὠφέλειαν φέρειν.*

– – = p. 706, 18-21.
Ἡ γὰρ κατὰ χώραν ἐάσει μένειν ἐπ' ἐμαυτοῦ φιλοσοφοῦντα, ἢ τοῦ μετὰ ταῦτα κρίνειν καὶ διαγράφειν ἡμᾶς τοῦ χοροῦ τῶν ἱερέων ἑαυτῷ χώραν οὐχ ὑπολείψει.

Au lieu de *τοῦ* (. . . *κρίνειν* . . . *χώραν*) une branche en général digne de foi de la tradition donne *τὸ* . . . Les deux leçons sont défendables, même si à divers niveaux de probabilité. Avec *χώρα* "possibilité de" le génitif est normal (ex. Plotin., V, 6.6 *οὐκ ἂν ἔχοι χώραν νοήσεως ἠντινοῦν τὸ ἀγαθόν*); l'accusatif donnerait ici une nuance quelque peu différente: ". . . ou bien il ne se laissera pas comme tâche celle de me juger . . ." (cf. Philostrat., *vit. Ap.* 5.15 *σοι ἀστρονομεῖν χώρα*). Le choix dans des cas pareils est naturellement ardu, *τὸ* aurait l'air d'une *lectio difficilior*, mais l'allure de la phrase n'en gagnerait manifestement pas. Il y a toutefois une autre possibilité à considérer: que sous *τὸ* se cache un *dativus commodi τῷ*, l'homophonie des voyelles ayant causé, comme souvent, la corruption.

34. Cf. A. Garzya, "Per l'edizione delle Epistole di Sinesio. 4. Contributo alle edizioni bizantine," en *Rendiconti della Accademia dei Lincei. Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, Ser. VIII, 13 (1958) = *idem, Storia e interpretazione*, cit., XXIII, p. 209.

35. Il ne vaut pas la peine de mentionner d'autres interventions maladroites parsemées dans les apographes: *δῆλον, λῆμον, λῆμα*, etc.

36. Ed. A. Garzya, "Scolî inediti alle Epistole di Sinesio," *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρ. Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*, 30 (1960) = *Storia e interpretazione*, cit., XXVII, p. 272, 25.

ep. 138 = p. 724, 17-19.
. . . καὶ φίλον μὲν τὸ καλόν, καλὸν δὲ τὸ αὐτό, τοῦτο δὲ ἓν ὂν τοῦ νοῦ λέγοντος ἤκουσας.

Une glose du codex G, *φιλοσοφίας*, déjà manifeste, bien que vaguement, une certaine méfiance vis-à-vis de *νοῦ*. Petau conjectura *ποιητοῦ* ou *Θεόγνιδος*, mais n'osa introduire dans le texte ni l'un ni l'autre. Que *νοῦ* ne soit ici peu à sa place serait très difficile à soutenir. Mais le remède est beaucoup plus simple que Petau ne le pensait. Il suffit de changer une lettre écrivant *ϑεοῦ* au lieu de *νοῦ*. En effet, le passage ne fait que reproduire presque à la lettre un vers de Théognis (17) repris par plus d'un auteur classique (Euripide, Platon) et passé finalement dans les recueils de proverbes. Mais, à son tour, le vers est mis par Théognis dans la bouche des Muses et des Grâces, filles de Zeus, comme partie d'un poème qu'elles auraient chanté un jour aux noces de Cadmos. L'épisode mythologique connut une résonance remarquable aussi bien auprès des poètes et philosophes que des anciens érudits,[37] le *tenet* du v. 17 passa comme l'écho d'une voix d'oracle ou divine plus que de celle d'un poète. La présence de *νοῦ* pour *ϑεοῦ* dans notre tradition manuscrite est due peut-être au souci religieux d'un lecteur.

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37. Cf. *sch.* Pind., *Pyth.* 3, 88 *sqq.*; *sch.* Plat., *Lys.* 216c.

BYZANTINE STUDIES/ETUDES BYZANTINES, 5, Pts. 1-2 (1978), 137-38.

ANDRE GUILLOU (Paris, France)

Deux sceaux byzantins inédits de Sicile

A Avola, commune de la province de Syracuse, au nord-est de Noto, en Sicile, on a découvert, voici quelques années, avec des pièces de monnaies et des morceaux de céramique qui ont été dispersés, deux sceaux de plomb en bon état de conservation.

1.

Champ décentré vers la gauche.
D: 28 mm (total), 20 mm (champ).
Au droit, monogramme cruciforme de type courant:
Θεοτόκε βοήθει (figure 1)
Au revers, monogramme cruciforme que je propose de lire
Ἰωά (*νν*) ου τοῦ π(*ατρι*)κί. (figure 2)
VIIe-VIIIe siècle. La paléographie et en particulier le tracé du B du droit avec sa large base indépendante parlent pour une période qui ne peut être postérieure au VIIIe siècle.

2.

Champ décentré vers la gauche; champ bordé par un cercle de grènetis
D:28 mm (total) et 25 (champ)
Au droit, monogramme cruciforme de type courant cantonné par le tétrasyllabe Tω - (ω - Δδ - Λω, Θεοτόκε βοήθει τῶ σῶ δούλω (figure 3).
Au revers, légende sur quatre lignes

ΘΕΟ	Θεο
ΦΑΝΕΙ	φανει
ΒΣΠΑϑ	β σπαϑ
ΑΜΗΝ	Αμην

Θεοτόκε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Θεοφάνει β(*ασιλικῷ*) σπαϑ(*αρίῳ*) . Ἀμήν. (figure 4).
IXe siècle. L'écriture est, par exemple, celle de V. Laurent, *Les sceaux byzantins du Médaillier Vatican* (Cité du Vatican, 1962), no. 77, pl. X.
Remarques. Le fonctionnaire n'est pas mentionné dans S. Borsari, "L'amministrazione del tema di Sicilia," in *Rivista storica italiana*, 66 (1954), 133-58. Il porte le titre de garde du corps du Palais impérial. On ignore sa fonction en Sicile, s'il en a eu une comme il est probable.

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FIGURE 1

FIGURE 2

FIGURE 3

FIGURE 4

BYZANTINE STUDIES/ETUDES BYZANTINES, 5, Pts. 1-2 (1978), 139-70.

HERBERT HUNGER (Wien, Österreich)

Stilstufen in der byzantinischen Geschichtsschreibung des 12. Jahrhunderts: Anna Komnene und Michael Glykas

Wer immer Texte byzantinischer Geschichtsschreiber oder Chronographen für sprachliche oder stilistische Untersuchungen heranziehen will, muß bedenken, daß die einzelnen Autoren in Ausgaben nicht nur sehr verschiedenen Alters, sondern auch unterschiedlicher Qualität vorliegen. Ob es den Bemühungen der internationalen Byzantinistik unseres Jahrhunderts gelingen wird, das im 17. Jahrhundert von französischen Gelehrten geschaffene *Pariser Corpus* und das im 19. Jahrhundert von deutschen Philologen erweiterte *Bonner Corpus* durch ein aus guten kritischen Editionen bestehendes modernes Sammelwerk zu ersetzen, wird sich erst zeigen müssen. Das 1966 inaugurierte *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae (CFHB)* hat zwar seine Kinderkrankheiten bereits überwunden und zum Teil treffliche neue Ausgaben wie Agathias, Skylitzes, Niketas Choniates u.a. herausgebracht, seine eigentliche Bewährungsprobe aber noch nicht bestanden.

Zwei Mängel sind es vor allem, an denen die meisten Bände des *Bonner Corpus* leiden: 1) Auf Vollständigkeit der Handschriftenkollationen wurde kein Wert gelegt; man begnügte sich oft mit 1-2 Codices, ja sogar mit der Übernahme des "Pariser" Textes, den man allerdings einer kosmetischen Behandlung unterzog. 2) Die mit der Entwicklung der griechischen Sprache im Mittelalter nicht vertrauten klassischen Philologen "normalisierten" oder "korrigierten" die handschriftlichen Lesungen wiederholt dort, wo ihnen die Regeln des klassischen Griechisch verletzt zu sein schienen. Bei der Dürftigkeit, ja man kann sagen, bei dem Fehlen eines kritischen Apparates in den Bänden des *Bonner Corpus* sieht sich der Benützer oft vor der Aufgabe, zu entscheiden, was auf Kosten des edierenden Philologen gehen mag und was wirklich in den Handschriften stehen könnte. Untersuchungen wie die vorliegende, die ohne neuerliche Überprüfung aller fragwürdigen Stellen in den Codices durchgeführt werden, müssen also stets berücksichtigen, daß ihre Ergebnisse durch spätere Kontrollen in etwa modifiziert werden könnten. Im folgenden wird auf die möglichen Unsicherheitsfaktoren zu gegebener Zeit hingewiesen werden.

Seit dem Erscheinen der *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur* von K. Krumbacher haben sich für die stilistische und sprachliche Einstufung der byzantinischen Geschichtsschreiber und Chronographen gewisse Urteile eingebürgert, die in den langen Jahrzehnten seither nur in wenigen Fällen korrigiert, geschweige denn umgestoßen werden mußten. Dies kommt von dem

sicheren Blick, mit dem der Archeget unserer Wissenschaft die sprachlichen und stilistischen Eigenheiten der Autoren zu erfassen und zu formulieren wußte. Das darf uns aber nicht darüber hinwegtauschen, daß diese Stilurteile sich oft *grosso modo* bildeten und–aus begreiflichen Grunden–im Rahmen eines Handbuchs nur gelegentlich dokumentiert werden konnten. Hier befand sich Krumbacher in einer ähnlichen Situation wie der stilistisch urteilende Patriarch Photios in seiner "Bibliotheke." Nun erschienen seither einige wichtige, zum Teil umfangreiche Untersuchungen zur Sprache und zum Stil einzelner byzantinischer Geschichtsschreiber, so zu Psellos,[1] Anna Komnene,[2] Eustathios[3] und Sphrantzes,[4] sowie zu den Chronisten Malalas[5] und Genesios.[6] Es ist gewiß kein Zufall, daß gerade die besten Stilisten zur Behandlung reizten. Anna und Eustathios kann man als die Parade-Attizisten der byzantinischen Geschichtsschreibung bezeichnen. Psellos aber ließ sich durch keine grammatischen Regeln und rhetorischen Vorschriften fesseln, sondern bediente sich der attizistischen Möglichkeiten mit ebensolcher Souveränität wie der Vulgarismen.[7] Was von Psellos gesagt werden kann, gilt *mutatis mutandis* auch von Anna Komnene und von Eustathios. Wie sehr die Attizistin und Puristin Anna dem Wortschatz ihrer eigenen Zeit huldigte–*termini technici* und zahlreiche Lehn- und Fremdwörter!–und auch umgangssprachliche bis volkstümliche Elemente in ihr Werk eingehen ließ, soll unten ausführlicher belegt werden.[8] Aber auch der Attizist Eustathios hatte Interesse für die

1. E. Renauld, *Etude de la langue et du style de Michel Psellos* (Paris: A. Picard, 1920); G. Böhlig, *Untersuchungen zum rhetorischen Sprachgebrauch der Byzantiner mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Schriften des Michael Psellos* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1956).

2. Georgina Buckler, "Anna as a Writer," in *Anna Comnena, A Study* (London: Oxford Univ. Press, H. Milford, 1929), pp. 479-522.

3. T. Hedberg, *Eustathios als Attizist*, Diss. (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells boktryckeri a.b., 1935); Ph. Kukules, Θεσσαλονίκης Εὐσταθίου τὰ γραμματικά (Athinai, 1953); P. Wirth, "Sprachliche Untersuchungen zu Eustathios. Attizistisches und Pseudoattizistisches in den rhetorischen Schriften des Erzbischofs Eustathios von Thessalonike," in *idem, Untersuchungen zur byzantinischen Rhetorik des zwölften Jahrhunderts, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Schriften des Erzbischofs Eustathios von Thessalonike*, Diss. (München, 1960), S. 59-118; und *idem*, "Der Stil und die rhetorischen Elemente der Reden des Eustathios," a.O., S. 119-41.

4. Stephanie von Stepski-Doliwa, *Studien zur Syntax des byzantinischen Historikers Georgios Sphrantzes*, Diss. (München: Salesianische Offizin, 1935).

5. K. Weierholt, *Studien im Sprachgebrauch des Malalas*, Symbolae osloenses, fasc. supplet., 18 (Oslo: Universitetsfaslaget, 1963); P. Helms, "Syntaktische Untersuchungen zu Ioannes Malalas und Georgios Sphrantzes," *Helikon*, 11-12 (1971-72), 309-88.

6. A. Werner, "Die Syntax des einfachen Satzes bei Genesios," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 31 (1931), 258-323.

7. Renauld, S. 551-56; Böhlig, S. 248 f.

8. Vgl. schon jetzt Sophia A. Antoniadu, "Νεοελληνικὰ στοιχεῖα στὰ ἑπτὰ πρῶτα βιβλία τῆς Ἀλεξιάδος," in Εἰς μνήμην Σπ. Λάμπρου (Athinai: Τυπογραφεῖον Ἑστία Κ. Μάϊσνερ καὶ Ν. Καργαδούρη, 1935), S. 370-74.

Umgangssprache seiner Zeit.[9] Wir müssen also zur Kenntnis nehmen, daß die Einstufung eines byzantinischen Autors unter die Stilkünstler ersten Ranges keineswegs bedeutet, daß die Betreffenden der zeitgenössischen Umgangssprache fremd gegenüberstanden.[10]

Anderseits gingen alle byzantinischen Historiker und Chronisten durch die Rhetorenschule und erhielten dort einen durch die Jahrhunderte gleich bleibenden Schliff, der sich mehr oder weniger stark in ihren Werken widerspiegelt. So beobachten wir auch bei den schwächeren Stilisten attizistische und puristische Tendenzen neben umgangssprachlichen bis volkstümlichen Elementen. Hier sei an die Problematik der byzantinischen Chroniken erinnert. Krumbacher hatte seinerzeit mit der Gegenüberstellung von anspruchsvollen Geschichtswerken, die von Staatsmännern oder Gelehrten verfaßt wurden, und von primitiven Weltchroniken (mit der Erschaffung Adams beginnend), die von Mönchen für Mönche geschrieben wurden, eine grundsätzlich richtige Erkenntnis ausgesprochen. Daß die Verallgemeinerung "Mönchschronik" im Krumbacherschen Sinn für viele byzantinische Chroniken gar nicht gilt, konnte H.-G. Beck in einem klärenden Artikel zeigen.[11] Trotzdem bleibt die Trennung: Zeitgeschichtlicher Abschnitt in lebendiger Darstellung–weltgeschichtlicher Überblick im Chronikstil mit Eigenschaften der Trivialliteratur, bestehen.[12] Wenn die Produkte der byzantinischen Chronographie vom stilistischen Standpunkt aus generell als merklich schwächer einzustufen sind als die Geschichtswerke, so hat dies verschiedene Gründe: 1) Die Chroniken be-

9. T. Hedberg, "Das Interesse des Eustathios für die Verhaltnisse und die Sprache seiner eigenen Zeit," *Eranos*, 44 (1946), 208-18.

10. Böhlig, a.O., S. 17: "Denn ohne Vulgarismen kommt kein Schriftsteller aus, der mittelmaßige nicht aus Unwissenheit oder Vergeßlichkeit, der Geistvollere nicht wegen des obersten rhetorischen Grundsatzes der variatio." E. Kriaras, "Diglossie des derniers siècles de Byzance: Naissance de la littérature néo-hellénique," in *Proceedings of the XIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Oxford 5-10 September 1966*, hrsg. Jane M. Hussey, D. Obolensky, und S. Runciman (London und New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1967), S. 283-99, hier 284: Der Archaismus läßt in der Praxis einen gewissen Freiraum (*quelque marge*) für den Gebrauch einer einfacheren und natürlichen Sprache.

11. H.-G. Beck, "Zur byzantinischen 'Mönchschronik'," in *Speculum historiale. Geschichte im Spiegel von Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsdeutung (Johannes Sporl aus Anlaß seines 60.Geburtstages, dargebracht von Weggenossen, Freunden und Schulern)*, hrsg. von C. Bauer, Laetitia Bohm, M. Müller (Freiburg-München: Alber, 1965), S. 188-97.

12. Für die Charakeristik der byzantinischen Chroniken als im wesentlichen der Trivialliteratur zugehörig verweise ich auf *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner* (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft XII, 5)(München: Beck, 1978), Bd. I, S. 257-78; der dortige Abschnitt beruht auf einem Vortrag, den ich 1974 in Rom gehalten hatte. Ein Hinweis auf die Möglichkeit, wenngleich "mit gebotener Vorsicht," in Byzanz von Trivialliteratur zu sprechen, findet sich bei H.-G. Beck, *Das literarische Schaffen der Byzantiner. Wege zu seinem Verständnis*, Sitzungsberichte–Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Bd. 294,. Abh. 4 (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1974), S. 26.

handeln einen sehr großen Zeitraum, der stets vor der Erlebnismöglichkeit des Autors liegt; das Engagement des Historikers, der Zeitgeschichte schreibt, fällt also von vornherein weg. 2) Die Überlastung mit einer Fülle von Details, Naturereignissen, Himmelserscheinungen und Katastrophen, Sensationsnachrichten und Curiosa aller Art, bedingt eine mehr oder weniger kunstlose Aneinanderreihung und Aufzählung, was wieder das Stilniveau drücken muß. 3) Die Chroniken wurden für eine breite Schicht von Lesern bzw. Hörern geschrieben; sie mußten einfach und leicht verständlich sein; stilistische Kunststücke waren also nicht angebracht. Die vom Attizismus geforderte Mimesis hatte in diesem Rahmen keine Existenzberechtigung.

Ob und wie weit ein byzantinischer Geschichtsschreiber oder Chronist sich der Mimesis bediente, d.h. archaisierte und im Sinne der Rhetorenschule "gehoben" schrieb, das hing weitgehend davon ab, mit welchem Publikum er rechnete. Wenn A. Mirambel in seinem Korreferat zu dem oben (A. 10) erwähnten Beitrag von E. Kriaras auf dem Byzantinistenkongreß in Oxford 1966 erklärte, die verschiedenen Grade der Mimesis seien Sache der Autoren und berührten nicht das Publikum, so scheint mir dies nicht annehmbar.[13] Gerade die Rücksicht auf den Leser bzw. Hörer, auf Adressaten, auf die "Zielgruppen," wie wir heute sagen würden, war für die byzantinischen Autoren maßgebend. Wir wissen dies einmal aus der Epistolographie, die bekanntlich von dem Grundsatz ausging, daß der Brief ein Dialog mit dem Partner sei. Nach diesem Partner richtete sich die Mimesis und auch das Sprachniveau des Briefes,–jedenfalls soweit der Epistolograph über die erforderliche stilistische Gewandtheit verfügte. Ein Psellos rühmte sich dessen, daß er je nach dem Korrespondenten seine Diktion zu variieren verstand.[14] Ähnliches gilt aber auch von der byzantinischen Hagiographie. Die Viten und Passiones gehören je nach dem Bildungsstand des Hagiographen, aber auch je nach dem erwarteten Publikum, verschiedenen Stilstufen an; für Mönche schrieb man anders als für ein allgemeines Auditorium.[15] Konstantinos VII. Porphyrogennetos bediente sich in den an seinen Sohn Romanos gerichteten Lehrschriften *De administrando imperio* und *De ceremoniis* der Umgangssprache, was er jeweils im Prooimion entschuldigend erwähnt. Der Text war nur für den Thronfolger, für kein anderes Publikum bestimmt. Derselbe Grundsatz darf auch für die byzantinischen Geschichtswerke bzw. die Chroniken angenommen werden. Dem anspruchsvolleren Kreis Gebildeter, die sich

13. A. Mirambel in *Proceedings of the XIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies,* S. 309-13, hier 312 f.

14. Psellos, *epist.* 136 (S. 161, 21-26 Kurtz-Drexl), 139 (166, 25-167, 8 K.D.), 147 (173, 13-18 K.D.), 264 (309, 17-310, 6 K.D.).

15. A. Garzya, *Lingua e cultura nell'agiografia italo-greca,* Italia Sacra. Studi e documenti di storia ecclesiastica, t. 22 (Padova, 1973), S. 1179-86. Zur Differenzierung innerhalb der Hagiographie vgl. auch Beck, *Das literarische Schaffen,* S. 28-30.

für Zeitgeschichte interessierten, stand hier die größere Zahl ungebildeter Byzantiner gegenüber, die neben den Bibel- und Vätertexten, die sie in der Kirche hörten, eben nur Trivialliteratur in Gestalt von Weltchroniken konsumierten.

Es ist der Zweck der vorliegenden Studie, an zwei markanten und besonders eingängigen Beispielen, an Anna Komnene und Michael Glykas, zu erhärten, daß Zeitgeschichte und Weltchronik in Byzanz verschiedenen Stilstufen angehörten. Anna schrieb zum höheren Ruhm ihres Vaters, ihrer Familie und auch zu einer gewissen Rechtfertigung ihres eigenen Lebens. Sie wandte sich an gebildete Zeitgenossen bzw. Nachfahren, an Angehörige höfischer Kreise, vielleicht auch an Gelehrte (Aristoteliker), wie sie zu ihrem wissenschaftlich-literarischen Zirkel gehörten. Glykas schrieb die Weltchronik nur für seinen Sohn; sein Stil ist einfach und weitgehend von didaktischen Gesichtspunkten bestimmt. Wir können nicht beweisen, daß er selbst an eine Verbreitung dieses Textes dachte.[16] Die beiden Werke wandten sich also an durchaus verschiedene "Zielgruppen" und haben ein dementsprechendes stilistisches Niveau aufzuweisen: hochrhetorische Darstellung mit allen möglichen stilistischen Effekten auf der einen, einfache, leicht verständliche Berichte im gestrafften Chronikstil auf der anderen Seite. Der Umfang der beiden Werke steht etwa in Verhältnis 3: 4 (Glykas: Anna). Die Prinzessin schildert die Ereignisse von 1069 bis 1118, Glykas die Weltgeschichte von Adam bis auf Johannes II. Komnenos. Es ist klar, daß Anna prächtig ausmalen und oft in Details gehen konnte, während Glykas den riesigen Stoff straffen mußte, zumal er für das Hexaemeron allein (Teil I) über 2/5 des Gesamtumfanges aufwandte.

Falsch wäre es nun, den bedeutenden stilistischen Abstand zwischen den beiden Werken in verschiedenen Graden der Mimesis oder der Anwendung der Umgangssprache suchen zu wollen. Zumindest liegen die Dinge nicht so einfach, daß Mimesis und Umgangssprache indirekt proportional wären. Anna hat in der Alexias natürlich ein weitaus größeres Maß an Mimesis aufgewendet als Glykas in seiner Chronik. Es wäre aber verkehrt, nun größere Affinität zur Umgangssprache bei dem Chronisten im Vergleich zu der Historikerin zu erwarten. Tatsächlich übersteigen die Belege für die umgangssprachliche Wortwahl und für *termini technici* bei Anna jene des Glykas bei weitem. Es handelt sich also bei der Anwendung von Mimesis einerseits und von umgangssprachlichen Elementen anderseits um voneinander unabhängige Größen, die für jeden Historiker und Chronisten einzeln untersucht werden müßten. Es er-

16. Die relativ große Zahl der Handschriften (vgl. G. Moravcsik, *Byzantino-Turcica*, 2 Bände, zweite durchgearbeitete Auflage (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1958), I, 431; Maria E. Colonna, *Gli storici bizantini dal IV al XV secolo*, I: *Storici profani* (Napoli: Armanni, 1956), S. 56 f.,, spricht dafür, daß Glykas mit seiner Stoffauswahl und seinem Stil dem Geschmack weiter Kreise entgegenkam.

gibt sich aber schon aus dem Gesagten, daß die niedrigere Stilstufe des Glykas nicht auf geringerer Mimesis oder ausgiebigerer Heranziehung der Umgangssprache beruht.

Die wesentlichen Unterschiede zwischen dem Werk der Anna und jenem des Glykas lassen sich mit einem Vergleich aus der bildenden Kunst veranschaulichen. Glykas zeichnet eine Sinopia, er gibt eine Vorzeichnung für ein Gemälde in wesentlichen Strichen unter Auslassung von Einzelheiten, eine Zeichnung, die nur in einer Farbe gehalten, also eintönig ist. Manchmal erinnert seine Darstellung auch an Partien aus einem Musterbuch, die ebenfalls durch Schematisierung und Eintönigkeit auffallen. Anna hingegen malt ein mächtiges Fresko in bunten Farben und verbreitet sich je nach Neigung auch über Einzelheiten. Sie schildert Selbsterlebtes oder vielfach von Augenzeugen Wiedergegebenes; Glykas hingegen berichtet über Vergangenes auf Grund von längst kanonisierter Literatur (Bibel, Väter, Chroniken); er überträgt aus "Musterbüchern."

Die ganze Diktion des Glykas riecht nach der Schulstube. Das zweckbedingt Didaktisch-Schulmeisterliche erreicht einen hohen Grad von Penetranz. Anna konnte sich trotz der starken Bindungen an ihre rhetorische Schulung und bei reicher Anwendung rhetorischer Kunstmittel weitgehend ihre individuelle Darstellungsweise wahren. Ihr persönliches Engagement, das auf Schritt und Tritt spürbar wird, macht für uns zum Teil den Reiz ihres Werkes aus.

Im folgenden sollen die wesentlichen stilistischen und sprachlichen Unterschiede zwischen der Alexias und der Chronik des Glykas behandelt und an Beispielen belegt werden.

Syntax

Der Eindruck der Einfachheit und Klarheit, den wir beim Lesen der Glykas-Chronik erhalten, beruht zu einem großen Teil auf dem Vorherrschen der Parataxe. Das Nebeneinanderstellen von Hauptsätzen, die Seltenheit von Nebensätzen und das Fehlen jeder echten Periodisierung kennzeichnen den Stil der Weltchronik. Die folgenden Beispiele sind jeweils mit einer Siglenreihe versehen, die das syntaktische Verhältnis verdeutlichen soll. Dabei bedeuten H = Hauptsatz (H^2 = Hauptsatz mit 2 Prädikaten), N = Nebensatz (auch Infinitive, AcI, finale, konsekutive u. a. Infinitive), N^3 = Nebensatz mit 3 Prädikaten, P = Participium coniunctum (P^2 = zwei aufeinanderfolgende Participia coniuncta), G = Genetivus absolutus.

1) Ein Beispiel naturwissenschaftlicher Exegese aus dem Hexaemeron (Teil I): Glykas (G) 71, 9-19:[17]

17. Alle Zitate mit Seiten- und Zeilenzahlen der Bonner Ausgabe.

ὁ γοῦν πολύπους τῇ Ποντικῇ θαλάσσῃ ἀπεχθάνεται· ψυχρότερον γὰρ τὸ βόρειον πέφυκε πέλαγος. ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς θαλάσσης γλυκύτερον· ὑπὸ πολλῶν γὰρ καὶ μεγάλων ποταμῶν ἐπιρρεῖται. ἐναντία δὲ τῷ πολύποδι τό τε ψυχρὸν καὶ τὸ γλυκύ. ἱκανὸν δὲ ἐρῶ σοι τί πρὸς ἀπόδειξιν. πέτρᾳ συμπλακεὶς ὁ πολύπους δυσαποσπάστως ἔχεται· διὸ γλυκὺ ὕδωρ ἐπιχέουσι τῇ πέτρᾳ οἱ πρὸς ἄγραν δεινοί, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἔχουσι τὸ ζητούμενον θήραμα, ὁ δὲ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἄκων ἐξανίσταται φύσεως. ὁ πολύπους οὗτος λέγεται μὲν ἡνίκα πεινάσει, πλόκαμον ἑαυτοῦ ἐσθίειν, ἕτερον δὲ ἀναφύειν.

H.H.H.H.H.H.PH.H^{2}H.HN^3

2) Derselben Kategorie naturwissenschaftlicher Beschreibung angehörig, aber stilistisch etwas abwechslungsreicher: G 113, 5-22:

Εἰ δὲ καὶ ὅθεν ἐπενοήθη τῶν ἐχιδναίων σαρκῶν ἡ ἐπίμιξις ἐθέλεις μαθεῖν, ὁ παρὰ πᾶσι σχεδὸν φερόμενος λόγος καὶ τοῦτο ἤδη διδάξει σέ. λέγεται γάρ, ὅτι κατὰ τὴν πρεσβυτέραν Ῥώμην ὥρᾳ θέρους ἄνδρες τινὲς στάχυας ἔτιλλον. καὶ τοῦτο ποιοῦντες δίψει γίνονται κάτοχοι. ταύτῃ τοι καὶ πρὸς ἀγγεῖον ἔτρεχον οἴνου μεστόν, ἐλπίζοντες ἐκεῖθεν ἀπαλλαγὴν τῆς δίψης εὑρεῖν. ἀλλ' ἐσφάλησαν τοῦ σκοποῦ· ἔχις γὰρ ἐκεῖθεν αἰφνηδὸν ἐκπηδήσασα τῆς ὁρμῆς αὐτοὺς ἀνεχαίτισε. τί τὸ ἐπὶ τούτοις; λαμβάνουσι τὸν οἶνον καὶ ἀνθρώπῳ τινὶ λελωβημένῳ διδόασιν, ὡς ἐντεῦθεν αὐτὸν θᾶττον ἐκστῆναι τῶν ὧδε καὶ μὴ τὸ ζῆν οὕτως ἔχειν ἐπώδυνον. δέχεται τὸν οἶνον ἐκεῖνος, μεθ' ἡδονῆς ἐκροφᾷ, καὶ παραχρῆμα τῆς νόσου λύτρωσιν εὕρατο. ἔκτοτε οὖν αἱ τῆς ἐχίδνης· σάρκες ἐμβάλλονται τῷ φαρμάκῳ. ἀλλὰ καὶ θηριακὴν τὸ τοιοῦτον διὰ τὰς τῶν θηρίων σάρκας ἐπονομάζουσι, καὶ ὅτι τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ὄφεων δήγμασι καὶ μάλα τὸ τοιοῦτον ἁρμόττει. τῆς δὲ τοιαύτης ἐπωνύμου ἐπωνοήσεως Ἀνδρόμαχός τις γέγονεν αἴτιος, καθά φησι Γαληνός, συνακμάσας τῷ Νέρωνι.

NNH.HN.PH.HP.H.PH.H.H^{2}N^2.H^3.H.HN.HNP.

3) Genealogische Aufzählungen neigen selbstverständlich zur Parataxe: G 257, 2-15:

Ἐν γὰρ τῷ κατὰ Ἰουδαίων πέμπτῳ λόγῳ φησίν, ὅτι καὶ ἐν τοῖς τύποις ἡ καθ' ἡμᾶς ὑπεροχὴ τῆς ἱερωσύνης δείκνυται. ὁ γὰρ Ἀβραὰμ τοῦ Ἰσαὰκ πατὴρ ἦν καὶ τοῦ Ἰακὼβ πάππος καὶ τοῦ Λευὶ πρόγονος· τοῦ γὰρ Ἰακὼβ υἱὸς ὁ Λευί, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Λευὶ ἡ ἱερωσύνη παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔλαβεν. ἀλλ' οὗτος ὁ Ἀβραὰμ ὁ πρόγονος τῶν Λευιτῶν, τῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν δηλαδὴ ἱερέων, ἐπὶ τοῦ Μελχισεδέκ, ὃς ἦν τύπος τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς

ἱερωσύνης, λαϊκοῦ τάξιν ἐπεῖχε. καὶ τοῦτο δι' ἀμφοτέρων ἐδήλωσε, καὶ διὰ τοῦ δοῦναι δεκάτας, καὶ ὅτι ηὐλογήθη παρ' αὐτοῦ· οἱ γὰρ λαϊκοὶ δεκάτας διδόασι τοῖς ἱερεῦσι καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν εὐλογοῦνται. ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ Μελχισεδὲκ ἐλάσσων ὁ Ἀβραὰμ ὁ τὰς ἐπαγγελίας δεξάμενος. καὶ πῶς; ὅτι τὸ ἔλασσον ὑπὸ τοῦ κρείττονος εὐλογεῖται.

HN.H.HH.HN.HN.H^2.HP.H.H.

4) Auch Partien aus der biblischen Geschichte lassen sich gut in einfacher Parataxe wiedergeben: G 272, 6-18:

Κατάγεται οὖν παρὰ τῶν ἐμπόρων εἰς Αἴγυπτον, καὶ ὡς δοῦλος ἐκεῖσε πιπράσκεται. οὐ πολὺ τὸ ἐν μέσῳ, καὶ εἰς ἔρωτας ἀσέμνους παρὰ τῆς κυρίας αὐτοῦ ἐφέλκεται. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἐπείθετο. εἰ γὰρ καὶ τὸ σῶμα δοῦλος, ἀλλὰ τὴν γνώμην ἐλεύθερος. ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ πρὸς ὀργὴν αὐτὴν κινεῖ. μελετᾷ κατ' αὐτοῦ, κατηγορεῖ, πείθει εἰς φυλακὴν αὐτὸν ἐμβαλεῖν. γίνεται ταῦτα, καὶ τρισκαίδεκα ἔτεσιν κατάκλειστος ἦν· τῇ δὲ τοιαύτῃ φυλακῇ καὶ ἕτεροι δύο συνῆσαν, οἰνοχόος τε καὶ ἀρτοποιός· οἷς δὴ παραδόξως καὶ τὰ ἐσόμενα προηγόρευσε. καὶ τῷ μὲν οἰνοχόῳ ἐλευθερίαν προέλεγε διὰ τριῶν ἐμμένειν ἡμερῶν· ἑώρα γὰρ ἐκ τριῶν κλημάτων ἀποθλιβομένους βότρυας δι' αὐτοῦ εἰς φιάλην, καὶ τὸν βασιλέα χαριέντως ἐξ αὐτοῦ ταύτην λαμβάνοντα.

H^2.H.H.NH.H.H^3.HH.H.H.H.H.

5) Ein weiteres Beispiel ähnlicher Art: G 328, 18-329, 9:

γίνεται ταῦτα—καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων οὕτως.

HH.H^{2}P.H.H.H^2.H.H.H.H.H.P^{2}HP.H.

6) Die Geschichte der julisch-klaudischen Kaiser wird in knappstem Chronikstil absolviert: G 424, 7-22:

ἐν γὰρ τῷ δεκάτῳ—Ἰουδαίων ἕνεκεν.

H.HH.HHN.H.H.HH.H^2.HN.HN^2.

7) In einem Abschnitt der Regierung Konstantins d.Gr. verspricht der Einleitungssatz etwas längeren syntaktischen Atem; das Folgende unterscheidet sich jedoch kaum von dem bisher Vorgeführten: G 464, 5-465, 8:

γίνωσκε δὲ—ἀγρυπνοῦντες.

HNGNP.H^{2}N.H^{2}N.PH.H.H.HN.HN.HN.HN.HNN.HP^2.

8) Durchaus parataktisch gehalten ist eine Partie aus der Geschichte Basileios' II.: G 577, 5-20:

κατ' ἐκεῖνον–τεχνάσματα.

HN.HH.HHN.H.H.H^2.H.PHN.

9) Schließlich sei noch ein längeres Stück zu Konstantinos IX. genannt, das zwar Partizipialkonstruktionen in größerer Zahl aufweist, im Grunde aber doch der Parataxe treu bleibt: G 593, 1-594; 19:

γίνεται σκέψις–θρίαμβος γίνεται.

HN.H.H^2.P^{2}H.HP.HN.HHNG.HP.HN.HG.HP.HNN.HPH.HP.HN.H.PHPH. P(H)H^3.HPH.P^{2}H.HHP.H.HH.

Im Gegensatz zur monotonen parataktischen Manier des Glykas baut Anna häufig längere, ja lange Sätze, die durch reichlichen Einsatz von Participia coniuncta, von Genetivi absoluti und von Parenthesen nie langweilig werden, sondern gerade durch die *variatio* den Leser erfreuen. Zwar wird man auch bei ihr Periodisierung im klassischen Sinne suchen müssen. Sie versteht es aber, durch den bewußten Wechsel zwischen längeren und kürzeren Sätzen und durch das Vermeiden chronikartiger Parataxe ihrer Darstellung von vornherein den Eindruck des gehobenen Stils zu verleihen.

Es fällt leicht, Beispiele für längere, mit Partizipialkonstruktionen und Nebensätzen angereicherte Perioden zu finden.
1) Anna Komnene (A) I 10, 31-11, 9:[18]

Ὃς δὴ καὶ πᾶσαν ἀνακινήσας φρόνησίν τε καὶ πολυπειρίαν στρατηγικήν τε καὶ στρατιωτικήν, καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ ταύτην συλλεξάμενος (ἀλλὰ γὰρ διὰ τὸ πάνυ φιλόπονον τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ πανταχόθεν ἐγρηγορὸς εἰς ἄκρον ἐληλυθέναι στρατηγικῆς ἐμπειρίας τοῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων λογάσιν ἔδοξεν, οἷος Αἰμίλιος ἐκεῖνος ὁ Ῥωμαῖος, ὁποῖος ὁ Σκηπίων, οἷος Ἀννίβας ὁ Καρχηδόνιος· νεώτατος γὰρ ἦν καὶ ἄρτι πρώτως ὑπηνήτης, ὅ φασι) τόν τε Οὐρσέλιον ἐκεῖνον εἶλε τὸν πολὺν κατὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ῥέοντα καὶ τὰ πράγματα τῆς ἕω κατέστησεν οὐ πολλῶν δεηθεὶς ἡμερῶν.

18. Aus Gründen der Bequemlichkeit zitiere ich nicht nach den Buch- und Kapitelzahlen, sondern nach den Band-, Seiten- und Zeilenzahlen der Ausgabe von B. Leib.

P^2(NHHN)H^2P

2) A I 32, 19-29:

Καί τινα εἰς τάξιν συνιστῶντα τὰς φάλαγγας θεασάμενος (καὶ γὰρ οἱ πλείους τῶν στρατιωτῶν τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Βασιλάκιον εἰς τὴν λείαν ἑαυτοὺς ἐπιδεδωκότες καὶ τὰ λάφυρα, τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ πάλαι τῷμῷ πατρὶ ἐμεμηχάνητο, οὕπω ἔφθησαν συνελθεῖν καὶ εἰς παράταξιν καταστῆναι, καὶ ἐπέστη αὐτοῖς ἀθρόον κακὸν ὁ μέγας δομέστικος), ἰδὼν δὲ τὸν καθιστῶντα τὰς φάλαγγας καὶ νομίσας εἴτε ἀπὸ τοῦ μεγέθους εἴτε ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν ὅπλων λαμπρότητος (καὶ γὰρ ἀντέστιλβε τούτῳ τὰ ὅπλα πρὸς τὴν ἀστρῴαν βολήν), ἐκεῖνον εἶναι τοῦτον τὸν Βασιλάκιον, συναντήσας αὐτῷ γοργῶς παίει κατὰ τῆς χειρός.

P(P[H]HH)P^2(H)NPH

3) A I 42, 1-10:

ἐν τοσούτῳ—κατηγγυήσατο.

P^2(PH)GHNN

4) A I 56, 16-26:

ὁ μέντοι—προσονομάζομεν.

P(HHG)GNNHN

5) A II 92, 2-19:

ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν—διεκφυγεῖν.

N(H^2P^2NHHH)N^2PHNN

6) A III 160, 17-161, 1:

τότε γὰρ οὗτος—θέμενος.

P^3NG^4NPHP

Gelegentlich dehnen sich die Perioden zu ungewöhnlich langen, schwer überschaubaren Gebilden aus:

7) A I 130, 3-27:

Ἀσπαίρουσαν· δὲ οἷον κατανοῶν τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξιος (καὶ γὰρ τὰ μὲν πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον οἱ Τοῦρκοι δεινῶς ἐλήζοντο, τὰ δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἑσπέραν λίαν εἶχε κακῶς τοῦ Ῥομπέρτου πάντα κάλων κινοῦντος ἐφ' ᾧ τὸν προσεληλυθότα αὐτῷ ψευδώνυμον Μιχαὴλ εἰς τὰ βασίλεια εἰσάξαι· ὅπερ ἐμοὶ σκῆψις μᾶλλον δοκεῖ καὶ φιλαρχίας ἔρως ἀναφλέγων αὐτὸν καὶ ἠρεμεῖν τὸ παράπαν μὴ συγχωρῶν· ἔνθεν τοι καὶ Πάτροκλον πρόφασιν τὸν Μιχαὴλ εὑρηκὼς τὸν τέως ὑποτυφόμενον τῆς φιλαρχίας σπινθῆρα εἰς πυρσὸν ἀνῆψε μέγαν καὶ δεινῶς κατὰ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς ὡπλίζετο δρόμωνάς τε καὶ τριήρεις ἑτοιμάζων καὶ διήρεις καὶ σέρμωνας καὶ φορταγωγοὺς ἑτέρας παμπληθεῖς ναῦς ἐκ τῶν παραλίων εὐτρεπίζων χωρῶν κἀκ τῆς ἠπείρου δὲ δυνάμεις πολλὰς συλλέγων ἐς τὸ προκείμενον αὐτῷ συνεπαρηγούσας) ἐν ἀμηχανίᾳ ὁ γενναῖος ἐκεῖνος μεῖραξ γενόμενος καὶ μὴ ἔχων ὁποτέρωσε νεύσειεν, ἑκάστου τῶν πολεμίων πρὸς ἑαυτὸν τὴν μάχην οἷον προαρπάζοντος, ἠνιᾶτο καὶ ἠσχάλλε μήτε στρατιὰν ἀξιόμαχον τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλείας ἐχούσης (οὐ πλείους γὰρ τῶν τριακοσίων στρατιωτῶν ἦσαν καὶ τούτων ἐκ τοῦ χώματος, ἀναλκίδων πάντη καὶ ἀπειροπολέμων, καὶ ξενικῶν τινων εὐαριθμήτων βαρβάρων τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ εἰωθότων κραδαίνειν ὤμου τὸ ξίφος) μήτε σωρῶν χρημάτων τοῖς περὶ τὰ βασίλεια ταμιείοις ἐναποκειμένων, δι' ὧν ξυμμαχίας τινὰς ἐξ ἀλλοδαπῶν μετακαλέσοιτο.

P(HHGNHP^{2}PH^{2}P^3)P^{2}NGH^{2}G(H)GN

8) A III 146, 4-25:

μετὰ δὲ τὴν–ἀμύνασθαι.

N^{2}PPN^{2}P^{3}N(H)PN^{3}NN^{2}H^{2}N^2

Schließlich mag ein willkürlich herausgegriffener Abschnitt aus den Kampfhandlungen mit Bohemund die flexible Manier der Anna in bezug auf den Wechsel von Kurzsätzen und Perioden vor Augen führen.

9) A III 110, 11-111, 26:

τοὺς μὲν οὖν–ἀπῄει σκηνήν.

H^2.H.PHN^{2}N.HNP.PH.H.HPNP.NPHN.HP^2.H.H.GHP.HP^4.PHNPN.G^2 (H)H.PH.HPH.

Ein weiterer Unterschied zwischen Anna und Glykas auf syntaktischem Gebiet läßt sich in der Behandlung asyndetischer Sätze beobachten. An sich wurden die Asyndeta seit der Antike in den Rhetorenschulen als Stilmittel in den Unterricht aufgenommen; sie sollten einen gewissen Akzent setzen.[19] Glykas verwendet asyndetische Sätze relativ häufig, sodaß die beabsichtigte Wirkung im Grunde verlorengeht. Es scheint, daß die Quellen auf dem Gebiete der Chronographie den Autor dabei beeinflußten. Einige Beispiele:

G 208, 1-3 (Adam und Eva): *καὶ ἔρραψαν φύλλα συκῆς, ἀπεδύσαντο τὴν ἀθανασίαν, ἡ στολὴ περιῃρέθη τῆς δόξης, ἐγυμνώθη τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἦν λοιπὸν πηλός.*

G 401, 13 f. (Gefangennahme Christi): *ἐπερωτᾷ λοιπὸν αὐτούς· πίπτουσι χαμαί. ἀποκόπτει τὸ ὠτίον τοῦ Μάλχου ὁ Πέτρος κτλ.*

G 402, 4 f. (Jesus vor Gericht): *περὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ διδαχῆς καὶ τῶν μαθητῶν ἐρωτᾶται. ἀποκρίνεται ὡς εἰκός. ῥάπισμα δέχεται κτλ.*

G 450, 2-4 (Mark Aurel treibt Geld für Rüstungen ein): *γίνεται ταῦτα· συνῆκτο χρήματα. σκορπίζει ταῦτα τῷ στρατῷ, ὁρμᾷ κατὰ τῶν ἐναντίων, τροποῦται, σκυλεύει, νικητὴς ὑποστρέφει. τίθησι λοιπὸν χρήματα τῇ ἀγορᾷ.*

G 535, 15-18 (der Slave Thomas): *εἶτα ὁ θωμᾶς ἠττᾶται, φεύγει, εἰς Ἀδριανούπολιν ἔρχεται. καιρὸν ἱκανὸν ἐκεῖσε παρὰ τοῦ Μιχαὴλ κύκλῳ τετήρηται. προδίδωσι καὶ ἄκων, κρατεῖται, χεῖρας καὶ πόδας τέμνεται, ἐπ' ὄνου κάθηται κτλ.*[20]

Im Gegensatz hiezu meidet Anna die Asyndeta; sie lassen sich bei ihr höchstens in Spuren nachweisen.[21] Glykas wiederum scheint kurze Sätze zu bevorzugen, die manchmal an eine Art Telegrammstil erinnern. So gibt es prädikatslose Sätze—in Chroniken auch sonst anzutreffen—,wenn es etwa von der Nachfolge König Philipps heißt: *μετὰ τοῦτον* Ἀλέξανδρος (267, 8 f.); *ἐβασίλευσε* ist als selbstverständlich zu ergänzen. In Analogie dazu darf man vielleicht annehmen, daß auch in dem Satz *καὶ οἱ Τοῦρκοι πάλιν πᾶσα τε ἡ ἀνατολὴ ἐκυμαίνετο* (607, 8 f.) ein Verbum für "griffen an" oder "plünderten" bewußt ausgelassen wurde. Allerdings könnte hier auch ein Fall vorliegen, in dem der Bonner Text dem handschriftlichen Befund nicht entspricht.[22]

19. Hermogenes, *Περὶ μεθόδου δεινότητος* 11 (S. 426 f. Rabe); Tiberios, *Περὶ σχημάτων* 40 (= Spengel, *Rhet. Gr.*, III, 77, 27-78, 19).

20. Weitere Beispiele bei Glykas: 375, 4; 421, 13-15; 519, 19-22; 526, 13-16; 559, 15-18; und 610, 3-4.

21. III, 225, 13-16: Situation der Bogomilen angesichts des brennenden Scheiterhaufens.

22. Das fehlende Hauptverbum bei Anna, III, 28, 11-18, ist wohl als *lapsus calami* zu werten. In I, 126, 16-21, hingegen ist die Kopula zu ergänzen: *τὸ δὲ ἦθος αὐτῇ ὑποκαθήμενον <ἦν>*. Zu "fehlerhaft" konstruierten Sätzen der Alexias vgl. Buckler, a.O., S. 484. Anna, III, 50, 13 (fehlendes Verbum) halte ich für Anspassung an die Umgangssprache; man sollte nicht mit Reifferscheid eine Lücke annehmen.

Ein andermal wird das Subjekt (und zwar ὁ θεός) ausgelassen, weil es sich aus dem Zusammenhang ergibt: *ταύτῃ τοι καὶ τὸν μέγιστον πάντων ἐκλέγεται* (scil. ὁ θεός) κτλ. (331, 12 f.). Zwei Sätze vorher hatte es geheißen, daß Gott den Saul als König für Israel erwählt habe (*ἐξελέξατο*). Aber auch das Objekt kann gelegentlich unterdrückt werden, wenn das dem Verständnis keinen Abbruch tut. Leon V. sagt zu seiner Frau im Hinblick auf den noch gefangenen und für ihn gefährlichen Nebenbuhler Michael: *ὁ μὲν Μιχαὴλ ἤδη ἀνύεται διὰ σέ, σὺ δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐκ σου μετ' ὀλίγον μαθήσεσθε* (534, 15 f.). "Michael geht durch deine Intervention frei; du und deine Kinder, ihr werdet binnen kurzem (scil. die Konsequenzen) erfahren."[23]

In fast allen hochsprachlichen byzantinischen Prosatexten treffen wir auf zwei Gruppen von Sätzen, die aus technischen Gründen in der Rhetorenschule gelehrt wurden und bis zu einem gewissen Grad verpflichtend gewesen sein dürften. Ich meine die Überleitungssätze und die Füllsätze. Die erste Gruppe dient dazu, die Fugen zwischen zwei Abschnitten mehr oder weniger unauffällig zu verkitten, einen Übergang an die Stelle eines abrupten neuen Anfangs zu setzen. Wenn Glykas einmal sagt *ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκολουθίαν τοῦ λόγου καὶ αὖθις ἐπανιτέον* (132, 12 f.), so entspricht das einem *ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὁ λόγος ἀνατρεχέτω αὖθις ὅθεν ἀπερρύη* der Anna Komnene (II 48, 25). Sätze diesen oder ganz ähnlichen Wortlautes lassen sich aus den meisten Geschichtswerken und Chroniken aller Jahrhunderte anführen. Anna benützt sie ziemlich selten und stets variierend (II 55, 7 f.; 59, 23 f.; 61, 28 f.; III 80, 10 f.u.ö.), Glykas nur sehr selten. Bei ihm sind auf Grund der besonderen Situation–Lehrbuch für seinen Sohn–andere Wendungen an die Stelle dieser Überleitungssätze getreten. Viele Dutzendmale ermahnt er den Jungen zur Aufmerksamkeit und zum Lerneifer, warnt ihn vor diesem und jenem Autor, zerstreut seine möglichen Zweifel und sucht ihn bei guter Stimmung zu erhalten. Die hiebei aufgewendete *variatio* wirkt verblüffend und bringt einen neuen Beweis für die stilistische Fähigkeit der Byzantiner, dieselbe Sache mit fast gleichlautendem Kontext in vielfacher Variation wiederzugeben.[24] Gewisse Standardformeln wiederholen sich allerdings häufig: *γώωσκε δὲ καὶ τοῦτο* (ὅτι) findet sich über 25 mal, *πρόσεχε οὖν* (oder λοιπόν bzw. *ἀγαπητέ*), wechselnd mit *πρόσχες οὖν* gar über 35 mal. Aber es gibt hier feine Varianten wie *καὶ πρόσχες, εἰ βούλει, τοῖς λεγομένοις* (3 mal), *ἀλλὰ κἀνταῦθα προσέχειν ἄξιον* (1 mal), *ἀλλ' ἐνταῦθα προσοχῆς, ἀγαπητέ, χρεία πολλῆς* (1 mal). Seltener treten Kurzformen auf wie *μάνθανε οὖν* (2 mal), *ἐπίγνωθι οὖν* (2 mal), *καὶ πῶς ἄκουε* (2 mal), *ὅρα λοιπὸν νουνεχῶς* (4 mal) und *ὅρα* mit

23. Ein schönes Beispiel für die Häufung nicht asyndetischer Kurzsätze bei Glykas (328, 19-329, 5) geht nicht auf die benützte Quelle, nämlich Josephus Flavius, zurück.

24. H. Hunger, *Prooimion. Elemente der byzantinischen Kaiseridee in den Arengen der Urkunden* (Wien: In Kommission bei H. Böhlaus Nachf., 1964), S. 58.

Varianten; in Form einer rhetorischen Frage heißt es einmal *ἢ οὐκ οἶδας*; (381, 1). Der Warnung dient das kurze und energische *ἄφες* (*τὸν δεῖνα*) (8 mal),[25] der Abwehr des Zweifes *μὴ θαύμαζε* (7 mal). Daneben stehen etwas längere Formulierungen wie *ἀλλὰ προσέχειν ἐνταῦθα παρακαλῶ* (183, 1), *ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο ζητῆσαι ἄξιον* (29, 8), *πρὸς τούτοις δὲ καὶ τοῦτο δέον εἰδέναι σε* (31,5), *εἰ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο βούλει μαθεῖν* (418, 6), *ἀναγκαῖον δὲ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ τοῦτο εἰδέναι σε* (147, 14, kürzer 129, 21), *ἔτι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις εἰδέναι σε βούλομαι* (145, 18; ähnlich 114, 17), *πρὸς τούτοις εἰδέναι καὶ τοῦτό σε βούλομαι* (211, 3), *οἶδα δέ, ἀγαπητέ, ὅτι καὶ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκβιάζῃ μαθεῖν* (423, 9), *σὺ δέ, ἀγαπητέ, τοῖς τοῦ χρυσορρήμονος ἐπὶ πλέον πρόσκεισο* (428, 20) u.ä. Manchmal wird die Überleitung durch ein Satzgefüge ausgedrückt: *εἰ δὲ καὶ ὅθεν ἐπενοήθη τῶν ἐχιδναίων σαρκῶν ἡ ἐπίμιξις ἐθέλεις μαθεῖν, ὁ παρὰ πᾶσι σχεδὸν φερόμενος λόγος καὶ τοῦτο ἤδη διδάξει σέ* (113, 5). Aber auch die Warnungen sind gelegentlich etwas wortreicher: *καὶ μὴ κατά τι ἀμφίβαλλε* (5 mal), *ἀλλὰ μὴ ξένον τὸ πρᾶγμα ἡγοῦ* (386, 2, f.), *ἀλλὰ μὴ μῦθον ἡγοῦ τὰ λεγόμενα* (2 mal), *μὴ οὖν συναρπάζου τοῖς λόγοις αὐτῶν* (216, 14 f.), *ἀλλὰ μὴ σύ γε, τέκνον ἠγαπημένον, τοιούτοις ὅλως ἀνάσχῃ πείθεσθαι λογισμοῖς* (50, 16-18). Beschwichtigend soll wirken: *ἀλλὰ μὴ δυσχέραινε τούτου ἕνεκεν* (3 mal), *ἀλλὰ μὴ δέδιθι τούτου ἕνεκεν* (165, 16), *σὺ δέ, ἀγαπητέ, τὰς τοιαύτας φωνὰς μετὰ τῶν μύθων ἀριθμεῖν μὴ δέδιθι* (90, 13 f.). Es sei betont, daß diese gewiß schon ermüdend wirkende Aufzählung keineswegs an Vollständigkeit grenzt. Die Variationsfähigkeit im Trivialen scheint unerschöpflich gewesen zu sein.

Wie verhalten sich nun unsere beiden Autoren gegenüber dem Gebrauch echter, meist sehr kurzer Füllsätze? Zunächst seien jene Klischees angeführt, die in beiden Werken vorkommen. *καὶ οὗτοι μὲν οὕτως* findet sich bei Glykas mindestens 8 mal, bei Anna 2 mal.[26] Von *τί τὸ ἐπὶ τούτοις* habe ich aus Glykas 6 Stellen, aus Anna 2 notiert, von *τί τὸ μετὰ ταῦτα* aus Glykas 3, aus Anna 1 Stelle. Die beiden häufigsten kurzen Füllsätze bei Glykas sind *καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων οὕτως* und *τίνος ἕνεκεν*; beide über 30 mal zu belegen. Es scheint bemerkenswert, daß Anna beide Formen offenbar meidet. Sie ersetzt die Eintönigkeit des Glykas im Hinblick auf das erste Klischee durch eine Reihe von Varianten: *ταῦτα μὲν ἐχέτω ταύτῃ* (I 60,26 f.; ähnlich III 223, 10); *ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω λελέχθω* (III 185, 6 f.); *ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω* (II 178, 6; 203, 8); *ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἀλις* (II 81, 19); *ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὧδέ πη περιγεγράφθω* (II13, 22); *ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐκεῖνος* (III 57, 18 f.); *ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν τὰ περὶ τούτων* (III 41, 19; 59, 23); *ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν τὰ κατὰ τὸν αὐτοκράτορα* u.ä. (3 mal); *οὕτω μὲν οὖν τὰ τῶν βαρβάρων* (III 44, 8 f.). Poetisch

25. Einmal kapriziös mit dem Genetivus separativus verbunden (414, 20 f.): *ἀλλ' ἄφες, εἰ βούλει, τῶν πολλῶν.*

26. I, 41, 16 *ἀλλ' οὗτοι*; III, 176, 28 *καὶ οἱ κτλ.*

geziert heißt es einmal: *οὗτοι μὲν οὖν ἐρρέσθων*.[27] Über 15 mal findet sich bei Glykas die rhetorische Frage *καὶ τί χρὴ πολλὰ λέγειν*; mindestens je 3 mal *διὰ τί δὲ τοῦτο*; und *εἶτα τί*; ferner vereinzelt *τί γίνεται*; (375, 10), *τίνα δὲ ταῦτα*; (429, 6), *τί γοῦν*; (608, 1). Die erste Form variiert Anna mit *καὶ τί γὰρ δεῖ λέγειν καὶ διατρίβειν κτλ*. (III 184, 15); an stelle von *εἶτα τί*; liest man bei ihr mindestens 7 mal *τί τὸ ἐντεῦθεν*; was wiederum bei Glykas zu fehlen scheint, obwohl *ἐντεῦθεν* zu dessen Lieblingswörtern gehört. Vereinzelt kennt Anna auch andere rhetorische Fragen als Füllsätze wie *τίς δὲ αὕτη*; (I 71, 10), *τί δέ*; (III 59, 26) und *ἵνα τί δὲ περὶ τούτων*; (III 229, 28).

In Summe fällt also die bei weitem größere Schablonenhaftigkeit des Glykas gegenüber Anna auf. Während beim Chronisten eine Reihe von Füllsätzen und Überleitungssätzen sich zu Dutzendmalen wiederholt und dadurch vollkommen farblos wird, bringt die Geschichtsschreiberin dieselbe Wendung–abgesehen von *τί τὸ ἐντεῦθεν*;–nur ausnahmsweise mehr als einmal. Bei Glykas drängt sich immer wieder das Bild der Schulstube auf, in der dauernd der mahnende Zeigefinger erhoben ist und Fragen gestellt werden (die Erotapokriseis klingen in den rhetorischen Fragen durch), während Anna es versteht, Wiederholungen und Allerweltsformeln zu vermeiden und individuell zu stilisieren.[28] Hieraus erklärt sich zum Teil die Monotonie bei Glykas und die stilistische Differenz zwischen den beiden Werken.

Besondere Aufmerksamkeit verdienen jene Stellen, an denen Anna aus der Not, einen Überleitungssatz erfinden zu müssen, eine Tugend macht und auf ihre eigenen Stimmungen und Ressentiments gegenüber den behandelten Personen eingeht. Mit genrehaftem Reiz stattete sie eine Übergangsstelle aus, in der sie von ihrer Ermüdung und dem Einnicken während des Schreibens zu abendlicher Stunde spricht, um dies mit einer *captatio benevolentiae* wegen des Gebrauchs "barbarischer" Personennamen zu verbinden (III 109, 6-13).

Manche syntaktischen Eigenheiten lassen sich bei Anna und Glykas in etwa gleichem Ausmaß beobachten. Dies gilt von der bekannten periphrastischen Konstruktion der Kopula mit prädikativem Partizip in der Form *ἦν διδάσκων*.[29] 11 Stellen bei Glykas stehen 19 bei Anna gegenüber. Während Glykas stets das Partizip des Präsens im Singular verwendet–mit einer Ausnahme, wo das Partizip des aktiven Perfekts und ein Präsens-Partizip verbunden sind,[30]–hat Anna 3 mal den Plural des Präsens-Partizips in Verbindung mit *ἦσαν*,[31] 2 mal das aktive Partizip des Perfekts (I 132, 27 f.; 136, 29), 1 mal

27. II, 224, 9; man wurde eigentlich die Form *ἐρρέτωσαν* erwarten; vgl. aber die Empfehlung des Mediums bei byzantinischen Grammatikern: Böhlig, a.O., S. 76, A. 3.

28. Ein eher primitiver Übergang von einem Buch zum andern wie I, 142, 14-16, findet sich bei Anna sonst nicht.

29. G. Björck, ΗΝ ΔΙΔΑΣΚΩΝ. *Die periphrastischen Konstruktionen im Griechischen* (Uppsala-Leipzig: Almqvist & Wiksells boktryckeri a.b., 1940).

30. 451, 10 f.: *κατεσκληκώς τε ἦν καὶ ψιαθίῳ κείμενος*.

31. I, 140, 12: *διαβιβρώσκοντες ἦσαν οἱ ἄνεμοί*; II, 137, 11 f.: *ἦσαν . . . μένοντα τὰ σκυθικὰ καὶ κομανικὰ στρατεύματα*; II, 229, 1 f. *ἄλλα τινὰ προσαπαιτοῦντες ἦσαν*.

das Partizip des Aorists mit ἦν (II 151, 18) und einmal in Verbindung mit dem Optativ.[32]

Der Genetivus absolutus hat bei Glykas keinen Seltenheitswert; er findet sich einige Dutzendmale. Trotzdem tritt er bei Anna viel häufiger auf und belebt deren über dem Niveau des Glykas stehende Satzgefüge.

Der saloppe Stil des Glykas verrät sich an einigen Anakoluthen: 304, 10 f.: *δεηθεὶς οὖν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ μαθὼν τὸν τῆς ὀργῆς αἴτιον, λίθοις αὐτὸν πανοικὶ κατέχωσαν.* 330, 19-21: *ἐπιπίπτει λοιπὸν αὐτὸς τῇ μαχαίρᾳ, καὶ μηδὲ οὕτως ἰσχύων ἑαυτῷ τὸ τέλος ἐπενεγκεῖν πείθει τινὰ τῶν Ἀμαληκιτῶν, καὶ τελειοῖ αὐτόν*; als Subjekt zu *τελειοῖ* ist *τίς τῶν Ἀμαληκιτῶν* zu verstehen. 452, 5-7: *ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ τὴν προσοῦσαν αὐτῷ σωφροσύνην εἰδότες προσάγουσιν αὐτῷ Αἰθίοπα, καὶ ἣ πείθεται τοῖς λόγοις ἐκείνων ἢ τῷ Αἰθίοπι καταχραίνεται.* Hier ist der Subjektswechsel mit dem umgangssprachlichen Ersatz der indirekten Rede durch die beiden Indikative verbunden. Die analoge Erscheinung treffen wir 521, 10 f. *λέγοντες ὅτι ἐὰν τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων ἐκ μέσου ποιήσῃ, ἔσται τὸ σκῆπτρον αὐτοῦ διαρκοῦν. κτλ.* Hier steht *ἔσται* an stelle eines zu erwartenden Infinitivs der indirekten Rede. Verwandt und ebenfalls umgangssprachlich einzustufen ist der unvermittelte Übergang von der indirekten in die direkte Rede. 328, 15-18: *καὶ ὃς δραξάμενος ἀφορμῆς πρὸς τὴν κατ' ἐκείνου ἐπιβουλήν, ὡς Ἰώσηπος ἱστορεῖ, ἀποδοῦναι τὴν θυγατέρα ἔλεγεν, ἂν χιλίας μοι κεφαλὰς κομίσῃ τῶν πολεμίων.* 525, 17-19: *οὗτος πᾶσαν κακίαν μετήρχετο, τοὺς ἁγίους τε μὴ λέγεω ἁγίους ἐθέσπιζε, τὰ λείψανα διαπτύειν αὐτῶν καὶ πρεσβείαν ἐκεῖθεν μὴ ἐκκαλεῖσθαι· οὐ δύνανται γάρ.* Anakoluthe und Wechsel von der indirekten zur direkten Rede in der genannten Form werden wir bei Anna selten finden.[33]

Für Annas Gebrauch der Modi hat G. Buckler das Charakteristikum "chaotisch" geprägt.[34] Tatsächlich werden Konjunktiv und Optativ ohne jeden Bedeutungsunterschied im selben Satz *promiscue* verwendet: I 80, 8 f. *ἵνα μεταξύ πως ἐπιδιηγησαίμην καὶ σαφέστερος ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος προΐῃ κτλ.*; II 18, 11-13: *ἵν' ἐντεῦθεν . . . σχοίη καὶ γένηται*[35]; III 120, 26-29 *ἵν' ὑπηνίκα ἢ . . . ποιήσειεν ἢ . . . ἐξαποστείλῃ.* Desgleichen werden der Optativ des Aorists und jener des Futurums wahllos gewechselt: I 157 f. *ὅπως μετ' ἐπιστήμης δημαγωγήσαιεν καὶ στρατεύσοιντο.* Im Temporalsatz stehen Indikativ und Optativ hart nebeneinander: II 69, 18-20 *ἐπεὶ . . . ἐθεάσατο, μεμαθήκοι δὲ καὶ κτλ.*[36]

32. I, 117, 1: ἐπιδραξάμενος εἴη.

33. Der von Buckler, a.O., S. 484, A. 12, angeführte Subjektswechsel (III, 27, 14-25) erscheint durch die Angabe des Objektes (*φθάναι τηνικαῦτα τοῦτον*) gemildert.

34. *Ibid.*, S. 483.

35. Hier handschriftlich auch *γένοιτο*.

36. Handschriftlich auch *μεμαθήκει*; analog II, 74, 19.

Dürfen wir unter diesen Umständen von Glykas größere Korrektheit erwarten? Seine Kondizionalsätze verbinden oft εἰ mit dem Konjunktiv.[37] die Finalsätze verwenden sowohl Konjunktiv, als auch Optativ und Indikativ des Futurums ohne Bedeutungsunterschied gemischt, z.B. 27 f. ἵνα γὰρ μὴ τὸ ἐπιρρέον ὕδωρ τῶν δεχομένων αὐτὸ χωρίων ὑπερχεόμενον μετεκβαίνοι ἄν καὶ ἄλλα ἐξ ἄλλων πληροῦν. πᾶσαν κατὰ τὸ συνεχὲς ἐπικλύσῃ τὴν ἤπειρον κτλ.[38] Desgleichen finden wir in Temporalsätzen (ἐπειδάν) den Indikativ (115, 16), den Konjunktiv (49, 7 f. 11; 69, 18 f.) und den Optativ (215, 11 f.).[39] Konzessivsätze weisen ebenfalls den Indikativ (273, 15 f.), den Konjunktiv (34, 2 f.) oder den Optativ (325, 15) auf.[40] Der Potential wird im selben Satz unmittelbar nebeneinander ohne Bedeutungsdifferenz einmal durch Konjunktiv mit ἄν, das andere Mal durch Optativ mit ἄν wiedergegeben: 206, 4-6 καὶ εἰ μὴ διόλου νήφων ὁρᾶται, οὐκ ἂν ἐκφύγῃ τὰς αὐτοῦ μηχανάς, οὐκ ἂν εὑρεθείη τῶν παγίδων ἀνώτερος. 45, 4 f. ὅτι δὲ ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχει, . . . σαφῶς ἄρα τοῦτο μάθῃ τις ἄν.[41]

Um zu diesem Punkt ein sicheres Urteil abgeben zu können, müßte allerdings ein sorgfältiges Studium der Handschriften vorangehen. Es ist klar, daß gerade bei den Differenzen zwischen Konjunktiv und Optativ die durch die itazistische Aussprache hervorgerufene Unsicherheit, anderseits aber auch das Bestreben zu korrigieren, von seiten der Kopisten, manchmal vielleicht auch von seiten der Herausgeber, in Rechnung gestellt werden müßten.

Rhetorische Figuren

Das einprägsamste Mittel eines byzantinischen Stilisten, mit dem er seinem Text Farbe und Wirkung verleihen konnte, waren die rhetorischen Figuren. Unter ihnen nehmen wiederum die Metaphern im weiteren Sinne einen hervorragenden Platz ein. Aus dem reichen Material, das die rhetorische Palette Annas zu bieten hat, seien einige charakteristische Beispiele angeführt. Die mit dem Wasser, vor allem mit dem Meer, zusammenhängenden Metaphern scheinen bei der Historikerin besonderes Gewicht zu haben. Schon im Prooimion vergleicht sie ihren Schmerz beim Tode des Kaisars Nikephoros Bryennios, ihres Gatten, mit den vorangegangenen Schicksalsschlägen und meint, diese verhielten sich zu jenem wie ein Wassertropfen zum ganzen Atlantischen Meer oder zu den Wogen der Adria.[42] Anschließend geht sie zur Feuer-Meta-

37. Z.B. 60, 13 f.; 131, 5 f.; 138, 2; 163, 21; 216, 3; 243, 8-12 u.ö. Vgl. Böhlig, a.O., S. 192 f.

38. Vgl. Böhlig, a.O., S. 189 f.

39. *Ibid.*, S. 185 f.; dieselbe Variation bei Psellos.

40. *Ibid.*, S. 198 f.

41. Ebenso 60, 20 f.; 135, 15 u.ö. Zu den Variationen des Potentials vgl. *ibid.*, S. 100 f., und 194 f.

42. I, 7, 23-26: . . . ψεκάδα ὡς ὄντως πρὸς ὅλον Ἀτλαντικὸν πέλαγος ἢ τοῦ Ἀδριαντικοῦ πελάγους τὰ κύματα.

pher über und vergleicht ihren seelischen Zustand früher und jetzt in drei Steigerungsstufen vom Rauch bis zur "unaussprechlichen" Flamme. Eine weitere kunstvolle dreistufige Klimax (mit Anaphora von *πυρός*) malt die Qualen ihrer vom "Feuer" verzehrten Seele und beschließt krönend diesen Abschnitt (I 7, 26-8, 3). Anna kannte natürlich das seit Alkaios in der griechischen Literatur heimische Motiv des "Staatsschiffes", das mit mehr oder weniger Erfolg gegen schwere See ankämpft. So versichert sie, daß die Kaiserin-Mutter Anna Dalassene in der schwierigen Situation zu Beginn der Regierung ihres Sohnes Alexios bereit war, gemeinsam mit ihm das Staatsschiff zu lenken, ob es nun unter günstigen Winden dahinfahre oder von allen Seiten bedrängt werde, während der Kaiser sich an das Heck gesetzt und das Steuerruder ergriffen habe, obwohl ihm vorher das Meer ganz fremd gewesen sei.[43] Ein andermal geht Anna vom Bild des Staatsschiffes aus, das der Kaiser in ruhige Häfen lenken will, und vergleicht dabei die mit Gottes Hilfe überwundenen Feinde mit Meereswogen, die sich an den Felsen in Schaum auflösen.[44] Auch zu Beginn des Kumanenkrieges zeichnet Anna ihren Vater als den vortrefflichen Steuermann–*ἀγαθὸς κυβερνήτης*, ein Bild aus der byzantinischen Kaiserideologie,[45]–der den Weg durch die von überallher anstürmenden Wogen findet und das Staatsschiff zuletzt in ruhige Häfen leitet (II 189, 19-190, 2). Wie für die große Politik bedient sich Anna des Bildes vom gefährlichen Meer mit seinem Wogenschwall auch für ihre private Situation. Die Schicksalsschläge, die sie erleiden mußte, vergleicht sie mit übermächtigen, sie überrollenden Wellen, die sie sogar nach Jahren bis in die stille Kammer verfolgen, in der sie an ihrem Geschichtswerk schreibt. Im Bilde bleibend will sie aus der Tiefe wieder emportauchen und–nach dem autobiographischen Exkurs–den Faden der Erzählung wieder aufnehmen.[46] Damit war zugleich eine aparte Form des Überleitungssatzes gefunden. Ein andermal zieht die Geschichtsschreiberin zu demselben Zweck das Bild des Pferdes heran, das von der Straße abwich, weil (dem Reiter) die Zügel entglitten waren.[47] Die Meeres-Metapher kann auch durch Routine verblassen, so wenn es heißt, die Zeit habe Alexios "ein Meer von Leistungen" geöffnet.[48]

43. I, 120, 2-8: . . . *καί πως ἠβούλετο συνδιενεγκεῖν μετὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ τὸ τῆς βασιλείας κλυδώνιον καὶ οὐρωδρομοῦσαν τὴν ναῦν ἡ καὶ πανταχόθεν βαλλομένην τοῖς κύμασιν ὡς ἄριστα οἰακοστροφεῖν καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ παιδὸς ἄρτι ἐπὶ τὴν πρύμναν καθίσαντος καὶ τῶν οἰάκων ἐφαψαμένου καὶ μήπω πρῴην θαλάττῃ καὶ κύμασι καὶ ἀνέμοις ὠμιληκότος τοιούτοις.*

44. I, 131,4-9: . . . *τῶν ἐπανισταμένων ἐχθρῶν εἰς ἀφρὸν Θεοῦ ἀρωγῇ διαλυομένων κυμάτων δίκην, ὁπηνίκα ταῖς πέτραις προσαράξουσι.*

45. Hunger, *Prooimion*, S. 60, 120, und 130.

46. III, 174, 24-175, 1; zuletzt . . . *ἐπαναπλεύσομαι καθάπερ ἀνάρρουν ποιησαμένη καὶ πρὸς τὰς πρώτας λαβὰς ἐπανέλθοιμι.*

47. I, 60, 7-9: *ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ὁ τῆς ἱστορίας ἵππος τῆς λεωφόρου ἐξέδραμε· πάλιν δὲ τοῦτον εἰς τοὺς προτέρους δρόμους ἐπαναγάγωμεν καὶ γεγονότα ἐξήνιον.*

48. I, 9, 22-10, 1: *ὅ γε ἐφεξῆς καιρὸς πέλαγος ὑπανέῳξεν αὐτῷ ἀνδραγαθημάτων.*

Wie das Schiff will auch der Wagen gut und sicher gelenkt werden. Anna Dalassene teilt mit ihrem Sohn Alexios die Aufgabe, den Regierungswagen (*τὸ ἅρμα τοῦ κράτους*) ohne Unfall und fehlerfrei (*ἀπροσπταίστως τε καὶ ἀναμαρτήτως*) zu fahren (I 120, 9-13).[49]

Im homerischen Stil werden historische Personen mit wilden Tieren verglichen, so Alexios im Kampf gegen den Usurpator Basilakios mit einem grimmen Löwen, der einen hauerbewehrten Eber angreift (I 29, 28-30). Auf derselben Ebene liegen mythologische *exempla*, über die noch unten zu sprechen sein wird. Der erwähnte Kampf des Alexios mit Basilakios erscheint Anna als das dritte Abenteuer des Herakles, der Kampf mit dem erymanthischen Eber (I 36, 11-16). Die launische Tyche, die den Menschen ihr Schicksal zuteilt, läuft unter der Metapher eines Zechers, der nach reichem Gelage beim Dessert (einer Honigspeise) angelangt ist: Das Dessert besteht in dem falschen Leon Diogenes, der Alexios mit seinen Usurpationsgelüsten neue Schwierigkeiten bereitet (II 190, 27-191, 5). Das heimtückische Leiden ihres Vaters, das von den Beinen seinen Ausgang nahm, bezeichnet Anna als hinterlistige Schlange, die Alexios (gemäß ihrer Verfluchung im Paradies) in die Ferse gebissen habe (III 177, 10-15). Auch für die Bogomilen paßt der Autorin die Metapher der Schlange, die sich in ihrer Grube versteckt und von Alexios mit Sirenentönen hervorgelockt wird (III 219, 11-14). Die Argumente der Paulikianer zerstört Alexios mit leichter Hand wie Spinnengewebe (*ὡς ἱστὸν ἀράχνης* III 184, 3-5). Die unglaubliche Wendigkeit und Wandlungsfähigkeit Bohemunds trägt diesem den Vergleich mit einem Polypen ein (II 233, 19-23).

Diese Reihe könnte noch beliebig fortgesetzt werden. Für unsere Zwecke gilt es festzustellen, daß dieses so wichtige Stilmittel bei Glykas völlig zu fehlen scheint; jedenfalls ist mir keine nennenswerte, mit den angeführten vergleichbare Metapher aufgefallen. Das heißt natürlich nicht, daß der Chronist die Metaphern und andere rhetorische Figuren nicht gekannt hätte. Er hielt es aber offenbar nicht für notwendig oder gar richtig, in einem Buch niedrigerer Stilstufe Metaphern zu bringen. Bei anderen rhetorischen Figuren, die vielleicht weniger ins Gewicht fallen, liegen die Verhältnisse anders. So treffen wir sowohl bei Anna, als auch bei Glykas das Hyperbaton häufig an; es scheint den Byzantinern von der Rhetorenschule her in Fleisch und Blut übergegangen zu sein.[50] Daher fällt eher die Vermeidung des Hyperbatons auf.[51]

49. Vgl. III, 173, 16 f.: . . . *ἅμα τε ἐπιβεβήκει τοῦ βασιλικοῦ ἅρματος κτλ.* vom Regierungsantritt des Alexios gesagt.

50. Beliebige Beispiele aus Glykas: 6,3 f.; 33, 9 f.; 40, 12; 520, 17 f.; 523, 13 f.; 524, 2; 527, 3; 529, 14 f. 20; 531, 21; 542, 17 f.; 545, 2 f. Aus Anna: II, 94, 12-14: *τὰ αὐτὰ δὲ πάλιν τοῖς τῶν χρεωδῶν συγκομιδῆς χάριν τῆς παρεμβολῆς 'μακρὰν γενομένοις συνέβαινε.*

51. G 521, 6-8: *τούτῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ πενιχρῷ ὄντι περὶ βασιλείας προεῖπον 'Ιουδαῖοι μάντεις τινὲς ἐνωθέντες αὐτῷ κατὰ τύχην ἔν τινι πηγῇ ἀναψύξεως χάριν.*

Auch die Anaphora war eine wohlbekannte rhetorische Figur, die sowohl bei Anna als auch bei Glykas anzutreffen ist. Die Beispiele aus Glykas erwecken allerdings den Eindruck, als ob die Wiederholungen zu Satzbeginn nicht bewußt, sondern eher in Gedankenlosigkeit hingeschrieben wären. Sie wirken keineswegs als stilistischer Akzent, sondern als Zeichen salopper Schreibweise. G 11, 2f.: *ταῦτα γὰρ ἐκ τῆς παχυτέρας μερίδος τὴν γένεσιν ἔσχηκεν. ταῦτα δὲ πάντως ὁ Πλάτων ἐδόξαζεν* κτλ. 483, 2 ff.: *οὗτος ἐξελθὼν ἱππασθῆναι καὶ συμπεσὼν τῷ ἵππῳ τὸν βίον τελευτᾷ. οὗτος τὸν ἐν τοῖς Χαλκοπρατείοις τῆς θεοτόκου ναὸν ἔκτισε* κτλ.[52]

Alliterationen und Paronomasien blieben, wie es scheint, den Werken höherer Stilstufe vorbehalten. Zwei Beispiele für Alliteration aus Anna: II 42, 12-14 . . . *εἰς τοὺς περὶ τοὺς βουνοὺς πρόποδας προσορμίσαι προσέταξε παραγγείλας* κτλ. III 95, 7 f. *ἀλλ' οἱ ἔνδον καταγελῶντες τῆς τραγικῆς ταυτησὶ τειχομαχίας* κτλ. Als Anna die Vergewaltigung der Gesandten Heinrichs IV. durch Gregor VII. aus der Mentalität des Papstes zu erklären versucht, greift sie zu einer ebenso kühnen wie geistreichen und unübersetzbaren Paronomasie: I 48, 27-30 *ἠνίττετο* (scil. *ὀπάπας*) *γὰρ δι' ὧν ἐποίει τὸ τοῦ ῥηγός, ὡς οἶμαι, εὐκαταφρόνητον, ὥσπερ τις ἠμίθεος ἡμιόνῳ διαλεγόμενος διὰ τῶν καθυβρισμένων τουτωνὶ πρέσβεων.*

Interjektionen finden sich in beiden Werken selten und bieten nichts Bemerkenswertes. G 333, 14 *ἀλλ' ὦ Δαυιδικῆς ψυχῆς*; 526, 2 *ὦ τῆς ἀνοχῆς σου Χριστέ* (geläufiges Klischee); 610, 18 *ἀλλ' ὦ τοῦ πτώματος*. A I 7, 13 *τὰ γὰρ ἄλλα φεῦ τῶν κυμάτων, φεῦ τῶν ἐπαναστάσεων*; I 48, 12 *ὦ Δίκη*; III 173, 23-25 *οὐ μὰ τοὺς τοῦ βασιλέως ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων εὐδαιμονίας κωδύνους*. Rhetorische Fragen konnten wir in Kurzform bereits in den Füllsätzen sowohl bei Anna wie bei Glykas antreffen. Darüber hinaus zwei Beispiele aus Anna: III 161, 7 f. *ἀλλὰ τίς τῶν ἐπεισπεσόντων αὐτῷ κακῶν τὸν κυκεῶνα ἀπαγγείλαι δυνήσεται*; III 206, 7 ff. *ὦ νεότης καὶ ἀκμὴ σώματος καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων ἅλματα κοῦφα ποῦ ποτε κατερρεύσατε*;

Attizismus und Purismus

Seit sich Byzantinisten mit dem Problem des Attizismus auseinandersetzten, sah man in Anna Komnene eine vorbildliche Vertreterin dieser Stilrichtung.[53] Die Geschichtsschreiberin selbst rühmte sich im Prooimion der Alexias ihrer Griechisch- und Rhetorik-Studien,[54] und Zonaras betonte ihre

52. Analoge Wiederholung von *οὗτος* 487, 3 f., von *τότε* 499, 14-16.

53. K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur von Justinian bis zum Ende des Oströmischen Reiches (527-1453)*, Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft, 9. Bd., 1 Abt. (München: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, Oscar Beck, 2. Auflage, 1897), S. 276.

54. I, 3, 12-14: *ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἑλληνίζειν ἐς ἄκρον ἐσπουδακυῖα καὶ ῥητορικῆς οὐκ ἀμελετήτως ἔχουσα* κτλ.

rein attische Schreibweise (28, 26: *τὴν γλῶτταν εἶχεν ἀκριβῶς ἀττικίζουσαν*). Wer nun auf diesem Gebiet bei dem "simplen" und "volkstümlichen" Glykas größte Gegensätze erwarten sollte, wird sich enttäuscht sehen; wir werden zumeist nur graduelle Unterschiede feststellen können.

Schon in der Lautlehre müssen wir auf den Wechsel zwischen den attischen Formen *θάλαττα*, *γλῶττα* u.ä. und den Koine-Formen *θάλασσα* und *γλῶσσα* bei Anna wie auch bei Glykas hinweisen. Die Formen *τήμερον* und *σήμερον* sind bei Glykas etwa gleich oft vertreten. Attisch *γίγνομαι* und *γιγνώσκω* ist sowohl bei Anna wie bei Glykas den Koine-Formen *γίνομαι* und *γινώσκω* gewichen. Freilich wird man in bezug auf lautliche Differenzen wieder an den Unsicherheitsfaktor der handschriftlichen Überlieferung zu erinnern haben.[55]

Für die Formenlehre galt der Dual als Schibboleth des Attizismus.[56] Tatsächlich findet er sich bei Anna in ausreichendem, wenngleich nicht übertriebenem Maße.[57] Aber auch der Glykastext hat zweimal Dualformen aufzuweisen.[58] Ähnliches gilt von der Verwendung des präsentischen Perfekts und des Plusquamperfekts (statt Imperfekt), die längst aus der lebendigen Sprache geschwunden waren und den Eindruck des gelehrten Attisch erweckten. Anna gebraucht das Plusquamperfekt häufig, vielleicht mit einem Durchschnitt von 1 Form je Druckseite. Bei Glykas lesen wir wiederum nur 3 einschlägige Formen.[59] Der umgangssprachliche Verlust des Augments deutet sich sowohl bei Anna (II 92, 16 *μεμαθήκεσαν*; II 180, 22 *μεμενήκεσαν*; III 192, 26 *ἐντετυχήκει*), als auch bei Glykas (476, 16 *προχειρίζετο* und *ἀναθεματίζετο*) an. Gerade solche Formen wurden von Kopisten (und Editoren) leicht normalisiert.

Nichtattische Komparativ–und Superlativformen auf *-ότερος* bzw. *-ότατος* habe ich nur aus Glykas notiert (41, 21; 69, 6 *μικρότερος*; 42, 16 *φανότατος*; 123, 15 *ταχύτατος*); bei ihm findet sich auch das nichtattische *τάχιον* und *βράδιον* (209, 21 f.; 215, 3; 392, 7).

Auffällig ist die vereinzelte attische Form *νεώς* bei Glykas (367, 3 *θείῳ νεῷ*), während wir sonst immer *ναός* lesen. Bei Anna finden sich die attischen Formen häufiger (z.B. I 45, 18; 101, 7; II 164, 2; III 217, 12 u.ö.). Die Koine-Formen *οἴδαμεν*, *οἴδασιν* u.ä. haben bei Glykas die alten Formen durchgehend ersetzt. Bei Anna hingegen stoßen wir auf den Wechsel der attischen und der Koine-Formen.[60] Glykas kennt ferner Formen wie *ἥμην* (396, 13), *εὕρατο*

55. Vereinzeltes *διαγιγνώσκειν* bei Glykas 24, 3 ist jedenfalls verdächtig. Eustathios erklarte die Formen *γίνομαι* und *γινώσκω* für archaisch: Böhlig, a.O., S. 23 f.

56. *Ibid.*, S. 89-91.

57. Eine Häufung wie I, 19, 20 f. *τὼ μὲν γὰρ ἄνδρε τούτω καὶ ἀμφὼ ἥστην καλὼ καὶ γενναίω κτλ.* ist auch bei Anna selten.

58. 70, 9 *τὼ χεῖρε*; 258, 13 *μηνύοντε*; hier würde sich vielleicht die Handschriftenkollation lohnen.

59. 38, 18 f. *ἐμεμενήκει* und *ἐμεμαθήκειμεν*; 450, 2 *συνῆκτο*.

60. Z.B., I, 129, 28 *ἴσασιν*; II, 47, 14 *οἴδατε*; 47, 15 *ἴστε*: eine beabsichtigte variatio?

(359, 4), *εἰσήλθοσαν* (179, 6; 185, 17; 189, 19; 411, 4; *συνήλθοσαν* 432, 16), *ἔφησε* (statt *ἔφη* 40, 1 f.) und regelmäßig *ἔφθασα* bzw. *ἔφθασεν* für *ἔφθη(ν)*.[61] Umgekehrt überrascht *διδόασι* (113, 14; 150, 6; 257, 12) und attisches bzw. poetisches *ἐσ<σ>εῖται*.[62] Aber auch Anna hat *ἐφεύροσαν* (III 192, 30). Topographische Bezeichnungen, aber nicht nur diese, mit dem Suffix *-θεν* galten den Grammatikern als gelehrt attisch.[63] Bei Anna sind sie zu wiederholten Malen zu lesen, so etwa *Βυζαντόθεν*, *Νορμανόθεν*, *ἠπειρόθεν*, aber auch *ἀλλαχόθεν*, *ἀπανταχόθεν*, *μεσόθεν*, *παιδόθεν*, u.a. Glykas hat diese Marotte mitgemacht; wir finden bei ihm *Λεσβόθεν* (593, 11), *παιδόθεν* (563, 12), *ῥιζόθεν* (602, 17) und *τετραμερόθεν* (478, 7). Möglicherweise erklärt sich aber der Gebrauch dieser Formen bei ihm zum Teil durch Übernahme aus der jeweiligen Quelle. Als attizistisch sind die bei Anna nicht seltenen Formen des Demonstrativpronomens mit deiktischem Jota anzusehen: *οὑτοσί*, *τουτονί* u.a. (z.B. I 13, 7; II 63, 30; III 217, 12 u.ö.).

Nach attischer Regel wurde bekanntlich der Plural eines Neutrums als Subjekt mit einem Verbum im Singular verbunden.[64] In der Koine führte man immer mehr den Plural des Verbums ein, ein Usus, dem auch Anna wiederholt folgt.[65] Bei Glykas finden wir sowohl Singular, als auch Plural. Einmal gibt es unmittelbar hintereinander einen abrupten Wechsel.[66] Am Zusammenhang damit sei erwähnt, daß Anna auch die *constructio ad sensum* kennt (III 151, 28ff.): *ταῦτα θεασάμενοι τὸ στράτευμα πᾶν . . . μετ' ἐκπλήξεως ἔφευγον κτλ.*

Archaismus und Purismus eines Schriftstellers werden vor allem in seiner Wortwahl sinnfällig. Die schon von den Vätern des Attizismus gelehrte Mimesis, die (oft sklavische) Nachahmung der antiken Musterautoren, verlangte im negativen Sinn die Vermeidung aller jener Elemente, die bei diesen Musterautoren nicht zu finden waren. So kommt es, daß alle byzantinischen Geschichtsschreiber, die sich der Mimesis mehr oder weniger verpflichtet fühlten, schon von frühbyzantinischer Zeit an die Verwendung solcher Elemente jeweils zu entschuldigen versuchten. Es handelt sich dabei um folgende Gruppen des Wortschatzes: 1) Völkernamen und Personennamen; 2) Toponomastisches, also Namen von Orten, Städten, Flüssen, Bergen usw. 3) Bezeichnungen für neue Einrichtungen, oft kultureller Art, welche die Antike noch nicht kannte; hier lassen sich die mit dem Christentum zusammenhängenden Wörter für die Kirche in allen Erscheinungsformen, die Priester, das

61. 269, 6; 329, 17; 394, 17; 397, 2; 415, 21 u.ö. Böhlig, a.O., S. 80 f.
62. Für *ἔσται* 560, 19; Böhlig, a.O., S. 13.
63. *Ibid.*, S. 54 und A. 2.
64. *Ibid.*, S. 168 f.
65. Buckler, S. 483.
66. 23, 2 f. *ταῦτα παθῶν ἰατήρια γίνονται· . . . ἀλεξίκακα γίνεται.* Wie steht es mit der handschriftlichen Überlieferung?

Mönchtum und die Theologie einordnen. Zahlreicher sind die *termini technici* auf dem Gebiet der sich ändernden Verwaltung und politischen Struktur, des Heerwesens u.ä. Hier häufen sich neue Ämter und Titel, alles was mit dem Hofzeremoniell zusammenhängt und oft aus dem Lateinischen übernommen wurde. 4) Alle Fremd- und Lehnwörter aus dem Lateinischen, Italienischen, Slavischen, Türkischen.–Wenn ein Autor auch noch so puristisch sein wollte, waren die Realitäten schließlich stärker, und er mußte, besonders als Historiker, früher oder später an eine Reihe von Wörtern aus den genannten Gruppen Konzessionen machen. Zur Beruhigung des Gewissens brachte er dann eine mehr oder weniger gequälte Erklärung an, die sich schließlich auf einen kurzen Hinweis wie *τὸ νῦν λεγόμενον* (*καλούμενον*) oder Ähnliches beschränkt.

Anna, die mit dem Anspruch auftrat, im Sinne der Mimesis puristisch zu schreiben, mußte natürlich wiederholt solche entschuldigende Bemerkungen anbringen. Am schärfsten sind jene Stellen formuliert, an denen die Prinzessin eine "Befleckung" der historischen Darstellung durch Personen-und Ortsnamen konstatiert. Nach der Anführung einiger "skythischer"[67] Personennamen heißt es: *χρὴ γὰρ καὶ τῆς ἐπωνυμίας μεμνῆσθαι τῶν κατ' αὐτοὺς ἀρίστων ἀνδρῶν, εἰ καὶ τὸ σῶμα τῆς ἱστορίας τούτοις καταμιαίνεται* (II 81, 29-82, 1). Analog lesen wir nach der Nennung des Toponymikons Bousa: *καὶ μεμφέσθω μηδεὶς ἡμῖν τοιούτοις χρωμένοις ὀνόμασι βαρβαρικοῖς καὶ ἀφ' ὧν ἔστι τὸ ὕφος τῆς ἱστορίας καταμιαίνεσθαι* (II, 215, 12-14). Anschließend beruft sich Anna noch auf Homer, der schließlich auch die Boioter und einige barbarische Inselnamen gebracht habe. Ein andermal spricht sie davon, daß die barbarischen Personennamen den Kontext ihrer Darstellung (*τὸ συνεχὲς τῆς γραφῆς*) störten (III 109, 2-13). Alle anderen einschlägigen Stellen beschränken sich darauf, die "moderne" Namensform bzw. den *terminus technicus* mit der zeitgenössischen Sprache (*ἡ νῦν γλῶττα*), d.h. mit der Umgangssprache, zu rechtfertigen. Dabei bedient sich Anna *promiscue* mehrerer Ausdrücke für diese Umgangssprache: *ἡ κοινὴ διάλεκτος* (*Μάγγανα* I 116, 15 f.; *Βλάχους* II 135, 3), *ἡ συνήθεια* (*βεστιαρίτας* I 152, 2; *βρέβια* II 46, 21; *ἐξώπολον* II 79, 24; *κουλᾶ* III 48, 22; *κοπόν* [*λέξις . . . συνήθης*] II 87, 19 f.), *ἡ νῦν γλῶττα* (*Ἀχρίδα* III 84, 11-15) und *ἡ ἰδιῶτις γλῶσσα* bzw. *λέξις* (*Οὔζους* II 104, 20 f.; *κλεισούρας* II 192, 4 f.). Die letzte Bezeichnung verwendet sie auch für ein volkssprachlich gefärbtes Spottlied (I 75, 2-16; III 73, 8-11). Auch die "lokale" Namengebung wird herangezogen: *καὶ καταλαμβάνει δῆτα τὸν ποταμὸν Βαρδάριον· οὕτω γὰρ ἐγχωρίως αὐτὸν ὀνομάζουσι* (I 29, 30 f.; analog dazu *Ἄκε* III 152, 6). Damit sind diese, ich möchte sagen, Alibi-Stellen so ziemlich erschöpft, und es bleibt nun festzuhalten, daß Anna trotz allem Purismus gezwungen war, Dutzende von "barbarischen" Personen-, Völker- und Ortsnamen in die Alexias aufzunehmen, ohne jedes-

67. D. h. petschenegischer: Moravcsik, II, 270, 273, und 302.

mal den Zeigefinger zu heben. Ich erwähne nur Sofia, das nicht mit seinem antiken Namen Serdika, sondern mit dem mittelalterlichen Triaditza ohne jeden Zusatz aufscheint (I 128, 2 f.; III 177, 30). Auch der Vardar tragt seinen mittelalterlichen Namen ganz selbstverständlich (II 22, 23). An Stelle des archaisierenden Namens Triballer lesen wir in der Alexias von Serben und Serbien (II 167, 3; III 160, 24), und die Bulgaren heißen niemals Mysoi.– Vor allem war es unumgänglich, die längst eingebürgerten *termini* der Verwaltungs–und Militärsprache im weitesten Sinn zu verwenden: δομέστικος, δοῦξ, δουκάτον, κόμητες, κομητούρα, πρίγκιπες, ῥῆξ, καβαλλάριος, κουράτωρ, πριμικήριος, σπαθάριος, παλάτιον, πραιτώριον, σέκρετον, ὀφφίκιον, ῥόγα, κομέρκιον, λίτρα, φόρος, πόρτα, σίγνα, σκάλαι, φοσσάτον, κορτίνα, κάστρον, κονοσταῦλος, λίζιος, σεργέντιοι, περεγρῖνος, γαλέα, τζάγγρα und viele andere sind in die Sprache der Alexias integriert.[68] Aber auch an slavischem ζουπάνος und κράλης, an arabischem ἀμηρᾶς, σουλτάν, Μουσουλμάνος und persischem ζατρίκιον nahm Anna keinen Anstoß. Aus dem kirchlichen Bereich wären etwa μονή, μοναστήριον, ἐκκλησία, βάπτισμα, φώτισμα, χειροτονία (Ordination), ἀπόκαρσις (Tonsur), μάνδρα und οἰκονομία zu erwähnen.[69] Zumeist wird unter dem Eindruck der gezierten puristischen "Entschuldigungen" übersehen, daß die Sprache der Anna schon durch die genannten *termini* eine gewisse umgangssprachliche Färbung erhalten hat. Unbeschadet dieser Feststellung bleibt die häufige Verwendung der oft verschwommenen archaisierenden Völkernamen Perser, Skythen, Türken bestehen, die modernen Interpreten manchmal Kopfzerbrechen bereiten kann.[70]

Für Glykas liegen die Dinge etwas anders. Er kennt in der Chronik, eben mit Rücksicht auf den Charakter des Buches, keine archaisierende Prüderie. Bei der Erwähnung von "Skythen" fügt er erklärend hinzu "das heißt Russen" (595,6) und nennt die zeitgenössischen "Manichäer" Paulikianer (623, 16 f.). Im selben Satz spricht Glykas von Triballern und Serben (594, 5 f.; vielleicht aus Gründen der *variatio*). Zweimal führt er umgangssprachliche Parallelformen zu Ortsnamen an (Melangeia=Melagyna 542, 13; Helepolis=Eleeinupolis 609, 15). Sofia erscheint selbstverständlich als Triaditza (465, 16 f.), die Deutschen heißen Νέμιτζοι (618, 12). Dem gegenüber mutet die Wendung ἔθνος Οὐζικόν (Σκύθαι δὲ οὗτοι) (605, 4) etwas unbeholfen an. Die Verwendung von *termini technici* wie κωστέρνα (550, 2), ῥόγα (585, 7; 608, 18), μηναιορόγια (509, 7), χρόνου πάκτον (498, 8), μανιάκιον (374, 18), σπαθάριος (476, 6) und φοῦνδαξ (614, 17) überrascht uns nicht.

68. Vgl. Buckler, a.O., S. 486 f.
69. *Ibid.*, S. 496 f.
70. M. Gyóni, *Zur Frage der rumänischen Staatsbildungen im XI. Jahrhundert in Paristrion. Archaisierende Volksnamen und ethnische Wirklichkeit in der "Alexias" von Anna Komnene* (Budapest, 1944).

Im Gebrauch archaisierender Wörter, die der gesprochenen Sprache längst entfremdet waren, ergeben sich keine wesentlichen Unterschiede zwischen den beiden Autoren. Anna ersetzt etwa die geläufigen *νομίσματα* durch Statere (III 20, 26 *ἐπὶ τρισὶ χρυσίνοις στατῆρσιν*), *ἐκκλησία* bzw. *ναός* durch das antike und gewählt klingende *τέμενος* (z.B.II 25, 25; 43, 13; 46, 22; 133, 19. 22 u.ö.) und bringt antiquierte Ausdrücke wie *ἀγέρωχος* bzw. *ἀγερωχία* (III 210, 23 f. u.ö.) oder *παριππεύειν* für das Verstreichen der Zeit.[71] Aber auch bei Glykas lesen wir das gekünstelte *ἰχθυοθήρας* (für *ἁλιεύς* 538, 2), das dem *γαιομάχος* (= *γεωργός*) des Konstantinos Manasses entspricht, allerdings schon bei Kyrillos von Alexandreia vorkommt (s. Lampe s.v.), *ἀριστοτέχνης* als Attribut Gottes,[72] *ἀνήροτος*,[73] *παρίππευσε χρόνος* (236, 5), *κατασκωληκιάσας* (457, 10 f.) u.ä. Geziert und krampfhaft gelehrt wirkt *καταθήγω* verbunden mit dem Genetivus obiectivus (470, 9 f.): *ἔχων τοίνυν· εὐφυᾶ τὴν γλῶτταν κατέθηξεν αὐτὴν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*.[74]

Zum Attizismus und zum Archaisieren passen die mythologischen und historischen *exempla*, deren sich Anna in entsprechendem Maße bedient. Wer aus der Erfahrung mit byzantinischer Enkomiastik und Epistolographie einen üppigen Strauß mythologischer, darunter auch exotischer Blüten erwarten sollte, wird allerdings enttäuscht werden. Neben einigen Götternamen finden sich nur gängige und weithin bekannte Motive. Die Götter werden zum Vergleich für die Helden der Alexias herangezogen, was der "homerischen" Mentalität der Prinzessin entspricht. Der Kaisar Bryennios führt den Bogen Apollons (II 224, 14 f.) und gleicht dem Kriegsgott Ares (I 20, 20). Viermal wird Ares nur in Verbindung mit *Ἄρεως ὑπασπισταί* für erlesene Krieger verwendet. Mit Athene wird einerseits Annas Muter Eirene verglichen (I 112, 10 ff.), anderseits die Gattin Robert Guiskards, die wie die homerische Göttin persönlich in den Kampf eingreift (I 160, 2 ff.). Das nostalgische Bild ihres kindlichen Bräutigams Konstantinos Dukas, das die alte Anna in ihrem Werk hinterließ, krönte sie durch den Vergleich mit dem strahlend schönen Erosknaben (I 104, 26-29). Herakles wird als Pendant zu Alexios (I 16, 3 ff.; 36, 11 ff.) und zu Nikephoros Bryennios (der Bogenschütze: II 224, 15 ff.) genannt; zweimal tritt er in einem Sprichwort auf. Robert Guiskard wird mit dem homerischen Achilleus verglichen (I 38, 11 ff.), nicht anders als der Kaisar Bryennios (II 91, 16 ff.), Alexios dem Agamemnon der Ilias gegen-

71. *Μαΐου παριππεύοντος μηνός* II, 146, 16 f.; ähnlich II, 192, 19; III, 42, 29; 75, 14 f.; *οὐ πολὺς παρίππευκε χρόνος* III, 159, 17; *τοῦ ἔτους διππεύοντος* III, 218, 28. Seit den kappadokischen Kirchenvatern geläufig.

72. 290, 11; nach Pindar bei Basileios und Chrysostomos, vgl. Lampe s.v.

73. Vom Manna gesagt 302, 1; aus Joh. Damask. *hom.* 9, 14; vgl. Lampe s.v.

74. Vgl. oben den genetivus separativus *ἄφες τῶν πολλῶν* 414, 20 f. Die Belegstellen für *καταθήγω* bei Lampe verbinden das Verbum mit *ἐπί* oder *εἰς* mit dem Akkusativ.

übergestellt (II 94, 2 ff.). Die Argonauten werden im Zusammenhang mit dem Aufmarsch der normannischen Flotte kurz erwähnt (III 82, 15 ff.), Niobe steht in der Todesszene des Alexios der Geschichtsschreiberin als Vorbild vor Augen (III 242, 8). Pegasos wird an einem dramatischen Höhepunkt der Flucht Kaiser Alexios' wirkungsvoll zitiert (I 164, 16-20). Im übrigen gibt es nur Gemeinplätze wie Orestes und Pylades, die List des Palamedes, Orpheus und die Adonisgärtlein. Noch bescheidener und geringer an Zahl sind die historischen *exempla,* die sich auf eine Geschichte von Alkibiades (II 72, 3-14), auf die Städtegründungen Alexanders d. Gr. (II 105, 2-5), auf die Timotheos-Episode[75] und die bloße Nennung einiger Namen beschränken. Im ganzen besteht das mythologisch-historische Kolorit der Alexias also nur aus einer Reihe kleinerer Lichter, welche Anna aufzusetzen wußte.

Bei Glykas ist der mythologische Stoff auf ein Minimum geschmolzen, d.h. er ist praktisch nicht existent. Aus erzieherischen Gründen dürfte der Autor mythologische Partien, die er in einer Weltchronik nach bewährten Mustern sehr wohl unterbringen konnte, weggelassen haben. So lesen wir insgesamt nur wenige Zeilen über die Amazonen (270, 14-18) und die Geschichte von Tityos, die im Zusammenhang mit der Leber als Sitz des ἐπιθυμητικόν zitiert wird (211, 15 ff.). Von Herakles hören wir, daß er ein Zeitgenosse Samsons war (308, 5); Kaiser Nikephoros I. wird ein zweiter Midas genannt (530, 6 f. Vgl. Theophanes, S. 443, 19 f.).

Sprachliche Übergangserscheinungen

Die Geschichte des mittelalterlichen Griechisch, des von den Byzantinern gesprochenen oder zumindest des von ihnen geschriebenen Griechisch, ist noch nicht geschrieben und wird noch lange Jahre nicht geschrieben werden können. Eine dafür unabdingbare Voraussetzung wäre die Sammlung des gesamten uns noch zugänglichen Materials. Das im guten Voranschreiten befindliche Lexikon des mittelalterlichen Griechisch von E. Kriaras[76] berechtigt uns zwar zu Hoffnungen in dieser Hinsicht. Allein, es ist zu bedenken, daß die als Grundlage dienenden Textausgaben heute noch vielfach unzureichend sind, und daß zahlreiche Texte noch immer unediert in den Handschriften schlummern. So müssen Beobachtungen zu sprachlichen Erscheinungen bei einzelnen Autoren mehr oder weniger unbefriedigend ausfallen; ihre Aussagekraft bleibt ohne Kenntnis des gesamten Materials relativ gering. Schon die Einstufung dessen, was man als hochsprachlich, als bewußt archaisierend oder attizistisch bezeichnen soll und was man eher der Umgangssprache, und hier wieder deren verschiedenen Schichten, zurechnen darf, bleibt in vielen Fällen

75. I, 7, 14-17; desgleichen bei Nikephoros Bryennios, S. 199, 4-6 ed. P. Gautier.

76. E. Kriaras, Λεξικὸ τῆς μεσαιωνικῆς ἑλληνικῆς δημώδους γραμματείας 1100-1669 (Thessaloniki, 1968-) (bis jetzt 6 Bände).

problematisch und von den persönlichen Erfahrungen und der Materialkenntnis des Urteilenden abhängig. Dem Kenner des Neugriechischen werden da und dort Bedeutungsnuancen auffallen, die unter Umständen als frühe Vorwegnahme der späteren Bedeutungsentwicklung interpretiert werden dürfen und in den Bereich der Volkssprache führen.

Angesichts dieser Schwierigkeiten mögen die folgenden flüchtigen Bemerkungen nur als bescheidener Versuch gelten, für das Kapitel Umgangssprache bei den beiden Autoren ein wenig Material bereitzustellen. Bei der Puristin Anna fällt es auf, daß einige wichtige Verba nicht in den alten, aus der Antike überlieferten, sondern in ihren "modernen", d.h. mittelalterlichen Bedeutungen verwendet werden. Hier sind *καταλαμβάνω* (= ankommen, erreichen), *καρτερῶ* (und Komposita wie *ἐγκαρτερῶ* und *προσκαρτερῶ* = warten) und *φθάνω* (= eintreffen) zu nennen; Belege finden sich allenthalben. *σώζειν* erscheint in der Bedeutung "gleichkommen", wobei man an neugriech. *σώζειν* (= ausreichen, genügen) denken kann.[77] *παρασκιάζω* im Sinn von "bedrohen" (I 12, 6) erinnert an neugriech. *σκιάζω* = jemand schrecken. Ähnliches gilt von Substantiven und Adjektiven: *ἀφορμή* hat wiederholt die Bedeutung "Unternehmen", *τὰ σκεύη* wird im technischen Sinn für "Gepäck, Troß", *περιωπή* für "Thron"[78] gebraucht. *γοργός* heißt wie im Neugriechischen "schnell" (II 93, 5; 99, 12; 218, 7), *ῥητοί* "wenige" (II 179,25; 212, 17). Das Lieblingswort der Anna *ὑποβρύχιος* steht zumeist im übertragenen Sinn für "verheimlicht, verborgen". Von Georgios Palaiologos heißt es (I 81, 10-12): *ἔτυχε γὰρ πᾶσαν τὴν ἐν κινητοῖς αὐτοῦ θεωρουμένην περιουσίαν ἔχων ἐγκειμένην ἐκεῖσε. κινητά* heißt auch neugriechisch "bewegliche Güter, Mobilien". Um eine jugendliche Elitetruppe zu charakterisieren, sagt Anna: *τούς τε καλουμένους ἠνδρειωμένους τῶν ἀγούρων* (II 109, 17); auch hier liegt die neugriechische Fassung ganz nahe. Unmittelbar vorher hatte sie dieselbe Gruppe junger Leute *τοὺς ἀρχοντοπούλους καλουμένους νέους* (II 108, 12) genannt; wiederum haben wir es mit einer zukunftsträchtigen Wortbildung der Umgangssprache zu tun; im Zeremonienbuch steht dafür *ἀρχοντογεννήματα* (*De cer.* 558, 5 f. Bonn).

Manchmal läßt sich der Rückgang des Dativs in der Umgangssprache beobachten. So verbindet Anna *χρᾶσθαι* nicht nur mit dem Dativ, sondern auch mit dem Genetiv (III 233, 17) und mit dem Akkusativ (III 50, 2). Das der byzantinischen Herrschaft unterstehende Gebiet wird mit *τῶν ὑπὸ τὴν βασιλείαν Ῥωμαίων ὁρίων* (II 165, 14) umschrieben. Ebenso umgangssprachlich treten maskuline Partizipialformen an die Stelle femininer; so sagt

77. II, 88, 7 f.; S. A. Antoniadu, "Νεοελληνικὰ στοιχεῖα στὰ ἑπτὰ πρῶτα βιβλία τῆς Ἀλεξιάδος, in Εἰς μνήμην Σπ. Λάμπρου (Athinai, 1935), S. 370-74, hier 373; von Antoniadu stammen die meisten der angeführten Beispiele.

78. I, 48, 21; 125, 10; II, 90, 5; vgl. ferner *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 42 (1943), 17, 2 f.; MM, I, S. 113 vom Thron des Patriarchen.

Anna von sich selbst: *ἀλλ' ἐπέχειν τὸν λόγον ἀνάγκη τὴν γλῶτταν ἐνδακόντας κτλ.* (III164, 9 f.). Nicht selten treffen wir auf periphrastische Formulierungen: *ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς . . . οὐκέτι ἐν ἀναβολαῖς ἦν* (II 108, 9 f.) steht für einfaches *ὑστέρησεν* oder *ἀνεβάλετο*, *καταφρονητικῶς διατίθεσθαι* (III 119, 29 f.) für *καταφρονεῖν*, *συναγαγὼν τὸ φρονοῦν αὐτῷ τῆς ψυχῆς* (II 56, 9) für "sich sammeln, sich besinnen." Auch solche Wendungen werden wir dem Bereich der Umgangssprache zurechnen dürfen.

An das lebendig gesprochene Griechisch erinnert ferner eine Reihe von Personennamen, die in keine klassische Umgebung passen, wie *Καρατζᾶς*, *Κεφαλᾶς*, *Κουτζουμίτης*, *Μεταξᾶς* und *Σγουρίτζης*, sowie das Toponymikon *Ἄσπρων Ἐκκλησιῶν* (II 22, 23; 23, 5).

Analoge umgangssprachliche Elemente lassen sich im Text des Glykas feststellen. Auch bei ihm steht *καταλαμβάνω* in der "modernen" Bedeutung, *ἀρμενίζω* (= segeln 68, 21 f.) und *μέταξα* (= Seide 501, 13). Für umgangssprachlich halte ich die saloppe Verwendung eines finalen Infinitivs: *ὃν δὲ κρατήσας ἐκθρέψειν νεοττὸν ὁ ἀετὸς* (80, 8 f. an Stelle eines Partizips des Futurums) und *ἐν καπηλείῳ εἰσελθόντα τοῦ πιεῖν οἶνον.*[79] *ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀντιλέγειν οὐ θεμιτόν* (172, 12) ist ebenso wenig hochsprachlich wie die Wendung *κατὰ τὸν νῶτον ποιήσασθαι* (475, 11 f.) für "zurückstellen, vernachlässigen."

Bemerkenswert scheint mir der Unterschied im Gebrauch der Adverbia *λοιπόν*, *ἐντεῦθεν* und *τότε δὴ τότε* bei Anna und Glykas. *λοιπόν* hat bei Anna in der Regel die Bedeutung "deshalb, also," z.B. II 15, 10; 129, 12; 177, 29; III 38, 6; 70, 1; 153, 24 u.ö. Bei Glykas ist es vielfach zu "übrigens" verblaßt und wird oft hypertroph wie im Neugriechischen gebraucht.[80] Ähnlich verhält es sich mit dem Gebrauch von *ἐντεῦθεν*: Anna setzt es für "deshalb, daher" nicht selten, aber auch nicht auffallend häufig. Bei Glykas, der es viel häufiger verwendet (über 130 mal), stehen neben dem analogen Gebrauch auch so manche Stellen, an denen es pleonastisch wirkt.[81] *τότε δὴ τότε* signalisiert bei Anna zumeist—wie auch sonst bei den Geschichtsschreibern—einen entscheidenden Punkt, setzt einen besonderen Akzent (z.B. II 9, 18; III 231, 12 u.ö.). Bei Glykas wirkt es nicht anders als gewöhnliches *τότε*; es hat seine Prägnanz verloren. Nur so ist es möglich, daß in einer chronikartig aufzählenden Folge von Hauptsätzen zwei mit *τότε δὴ τότε*, ein dritter mit *τότε* beginnen (464, 16. 18. 20). Ähnlich hat die bei Glykas sehr häufige Verbindung *καὶ γὰρ* ihre ursprüngliche Bedeutung "denn auch" oft einge-

79. 528, 17 f.; man sollte wohl nicht an eine Ergänzung durch *χάρω* denken.

80. Insgesamt über 100 mal! Z.B. 193, 21 *παραχωρεῖται λοιπὸν ὁ Ἀδάμ*; 253, 5 f. *τότε λοιπὸν περιτέμνεται καὶ ὁ δίκαιος*; 208, 2 f. *ἐγυμνώθη τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἦν λοιπὸν πηλός*.

81. Z.B. 245, 12; 256, 19; 316, 9; 609, 3 f. *πολλὰ λοιπὸν ἐντεῦθεν ἀτυχήματα τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις συμβαίνει*.

bußt und steht–obwohl nicht am Satzbeginn–an Stelle eines bloßen γάρ.[82] πῶς gebraucht Glykas nicht selten in der Bedeutung "warum", auch das ein umgangssprachlicher Zug.[83]

Selbstverständnis der Autoren

In seinem kurzen Beitrag zur Sprache des Glykas bemerkt H. Eideneier: "Die damalige Existenz einer Volks- und einer Hochsprache setzt nicht voraus, daß man sich des Unterschieds der beiden Sprachen bewußt war."[84] Diesen Satz möchte ich nur insofern akzeptieren, als das Bewußtsein des Unterschieds nicht die Voraussetzung für die Diglossie war, was an sich eine Selbstverständlichkeit ist. Daß aber die guten byzantinischen Stilisten des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts nicht den Unterschied zwischen Hochsprache und Umgangssprache bzw. verschiedener Stilstufen gekannt oder erfaßt haben sollten, ist völlig unglaubwürdig. Für die Kunst, den Brief in verschiedenen Stufen zu stilisieren, haben wir Zeugnisse.[85] Und was wollte denn Konstantinos Porphyrogennetos in seinen Prooimia sagen, wenn er sich des Unterschieds zwischen den Stilstufen nicht bewußt gewesen wäre? Eine durchaus verschiedene Frage ist es, ob die umgangssprachlichen Elemente in hochsprachlichen Texten jeweils bewußt vom Autor zugelassen oder herangezogen wurden; darüber wird sich im Einzelnen schwer eine Entscheidung treffen lassen. Wohl aber sei noch abschließend versucht, dem Selbstverständnis der Anna und des Glykas für ihre beiden Werke näherzukommen.

Verschiedene Textstellen der Alexias beweisen, daß Anna wie jeder verantwortungsbewußte Stilist sich über das Wesen ihres Geschichtswerkes und dessen Einordnung in die Genera der Literatur sehr wohl Gedanken machte. Für den durch die Rhetorenschule gegangenen Historiographen bestand in Byzanz die dauernde Versuchung, Enkomion und Geschichtswerk zu verwechseln, d.h. einer μετάβασις εἰς ἄλλο γένος zu unterliegen. Anna unterdrückt bewußt Nachrichten über die Vorfahren der Anna Dalassene und beschränkt sich auf deren Charakterdarstellung, da sie eben nicht ein Enkomion, sondern Geschichte zu schreiben habe.[86] Wiederholt bedauert sie, nicht mehr Details über die Ruhmestaten und hervorragenden Eigenschaften ihres Helden, des

82. Z.B. 125, 18; 162, 22; 294, 15; 478, 16 u.ö.

83. Z.B. 24, 14 f.; 33, 16 f.; 36, 15 f.; 165, 6 f.; 175, 3 f. ἄφες τὸ πῶς. ὁ Θεὸς ὅπου, ἐκεῖσε χώραν οὐκ ἔχει τὸ πῶς. Laß das Warum! Wo Gott ist, hat das Warum nichts verloren.

84. H. Eideneier, "Zur Sprache des Michael Glykas," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 61 (1968), 5-9, hier 9.

85. S. oben A. 14.

86. I, 125, 11-18: ἄλλος μὲν οὖν νόμοις ἐγκωμιαστικοῖς ὑπείκων κτλ. ἐμοὶ δὲ ἱστορίαν ξυγγραφούσῃ οὐκ ἐκ γένους καὶ αἵματος προσήκει ταύτην χαρακτηρίζειν κτλ; ähnlich wenig später I, 126, 29-127, 5.

Kaisers Alexios, bringen zu können, um nicht in Enkomiastik zu verfallen.[87] Ihr nahestehende Tote gebührend zu beklagen, entspreche zwar ihren Emotionen, verbiete sich aber angesichts der Unvereinbarkeit von Monodie und Geschichtswerk. Dies stellt Anna im Hinblick auf Konstantinos Dukas, ihren ersten Bräutigam, und auf ihren im Kampf gefallenen Bruder Andronikos fest.[88] Bei der Schilderung von Krankheit und Tod des Alexios aber gerät die Geschichtsschreiberin in Gefahr, Historie und Tragödie zu vermischen.[89] Ob diese Feststellungen, für die es Parallelen etwa bei Psellos und anderen hochsprachlichen Autoren gibt, bis zu einem gewissen Grad nicht reine Lippenbekenntnisse blieben, steht auf einem anderen Blatt. Uns interessiert hier nur das grundsätzliche Selbstverständnis des Autors. Dazu gehört auch die Einstellung der Geschichtsschreiberin zu Fremdtexten, die sie in ihr Werk aufnahm. Da sie sowohl Urkunden wie Briefe wörtlich wiedergibt, muß ihr in dieser Hinsicht ein gutes Zeugnis ausgestellt werden. Das stets prekäre Problem der direkten Reden wollen wir hier ausklammern. In dem großen autobiographischen Kapitel (XIV 7) kommt Anna auf die historische Wahrheit und Objektivität zu sprechen und charakterisiert dabei ihre Quellen: *τὰ γὰρ εἰς χεῖρας ἐμὰς ἐμπεσόντα συγγράμματα ἁπλᾶ μὲν ἦσαν τὴν φράσιν καὶ ἀπερίεργα καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐχόμενα καὶ οὐδέν τι κομψὸν ἐπιδεδειγμένα οὐδὲ ῥητορικὸν ὄγκον ἐπισυρόμενα* (III 176, 5-8). Diese einfach geschriebenen Quellen und die ebenso einfachen Erzählungen der Veteranen ihres Vaters vereinigte Anna mit den reichen Informationen aus Gesprächen mit Familienmitgliedern, um daraus die Alexias zu komponieren. Gerade angesichts dieser Quellenlage darf ihr die Anerkennung für ihre stilistische Leistung nicht versagt werden. Übrigens war sich die Prinzessin durchaus bewußt, woher nichthochsprachliche Wörter kamen; so vergißt sie nicht zu erwähnen, daß das Wort für die Nachhut des Heeres (*κοπός*) aus der Soldatensprache stammte.[90] Sie war sich also über das umgangssprachliche Element und damit über die Frage der Stilstufen im Klaren. Ich neige zu der Ansicht, daß die große Zahl "moderner" Fachausdrücke und die vielen umgangssprachlichen bis volkssprachlichen Einzelheiten im Text der Alexias im wesentlichen mit Absicht von der Autorin aufgenommen oder zumindest toleriert wurden. Umgangssprache am Kaiserhof ist keine so ungewöhnliche Erscheinung; ich darf

87. I, 166, 6-30; 21 ff. *ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ ῥητορεία κομψή τις ἢ κατὰ τὸ μέρος ἐκεῖνο τῆς ἱστορίας, ὥσπερ τις ἀπαθὴς ἀδάμας καὶ λίθος παρατρέχω τὰς τοῦ πατρὸς ξυμφοράς κτλ.* Vgl. II, 8, 27-29.

88. I, 43, 19-22: *ἐπέχω δὲ ὅμως τὸ δάκρυον καὶ ταμιεύω πρὸς τοὺς ἐπικαίρους τῶν τόπων, ἵνα μὴ τὰς μονῳδίας τῶν ἐμῶν ἀναμιγνῦσα ταῖς ἱστορικαῖς διηγήσεσιν τὴν ἱστορίαν συγχέοιμι*; III, 206, 3-18; 9 f. *μονῳδεῖν με τὸ ἐπὶ τούτῳ πάθος ἐκβιάζεται, ἀλλ' ὁ τῆς ἱστορίας νόμος ἐκεῖθεν αὖθις ἀπείργει.*

89. III, 229, 28-230, 2.

90. II, 87, 17-21; 19 f. *λέξις δὲ αὕτη συνήθης τοῖς στρατιώταις.*

vielleicht auf das "Schönbrunnerisch" des Wiener Kaiserhofes hinweisen, das ebenfalls von Elementen der Umgangssprache durchsetzt war. Übrigens empfiehlt ein Autor der Palaiologenzeit, Nikephoros Chumnos, in seinem Essay über die Mimesis den Autoren die Verwendung klarer und in der Umgangssprache belegter Wörter: *τὸ τῶν λέξεων ἐκ τῶν καθωμιλημένων ἔστω σοι μᾶλλον καὶ σαφεστέρων.*[91]

Was können wir dem gegenüber vom Selbstverständnis des Glykas für seine Weltchronik ermitteln? Beim Lesen dieses Textes haben wir immer wieder den Eindruck, daß der Autor ganz auf den didaktischen Zweck des Buches ausgerichtet war. Es genügt hier, auf die Menge der reich variierten Überleitungs- und Füllsätze zu verweisen, die oben behandelt wurden. Man glaubt auch zu sehen, daß die Arbeit dem Glykas schnell von der Hand ging. Vieles zitiert er wörtlich aus seinen Quellen, anderes paraphrasiert er, so daß sich die eigene Darstellung wahrscheinlich auf einen geringen Prozentsatz des Gesamtumfanges beschränken wird. Natürlich erhebt sich auch hier die Frage nach der Einstellung zu den Quellen. Bibel und Vätertexte waren Glykas wie jedem Byzantiner mehr oder weniger vertraut, und ihren Stil hatte man durch die Übung der orthodoxen Kirche stets im Ohr. Es ließe sich wohl leicht zeigen, daß dieser Stil der Kirchenväter auch auf Glykas abgefärbt hat. Man müßte sich nur die Mühe nehmen, möglichst viele Stellen mit den Originalen zu vergleichen und herauszuschälen, was Glykas selbst zu vindizieren ist; vermutlich wird es nicht allzuviel sein. Über den Baum im Paradies sagt der Text der Chronik (205, 16-19): *διὰ τοῦτο ἦν φυτὸν ὡραίων καρπῶν εὔφορον, ἵνα ἐν τῇ ἀποχῇ τοῦ ἡδέος τὸ τῆς ἐγκρατείας καλὸν ἐπιδειξάμενοι τῶν τῆς ὑπομονῆς στεφάνων δικαίως ἀξιωθῶμεν.* Dieser durchaus theologische Stil dürfte Glykas selbst zuzuschreiben sein; jedenfalls konnte ich den Satz bei dem vorher genannten Basileios nicht finden. Ähnlich heißt es wenig später über die ersten Menschen nach dem Sündenfall (zu Genesis 3, 21): *ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἀλόγων λοιπὸν φύσεως νεκρότητα ἐντέθεικεν οἰκονομικῶς τῇ εἰς ἀθανασίαν κτισθείσῃ φύσει, ἵνα μὴ ἀθάνατον ᾖ τὸ κακόν* (207, 5-7). Gedanke und fast wörtliche Formulierung stammen hier von Gregor von Nyssa.[92] Zur Wiedergabe des Pfingstwunders hat Glykas eindeutig den Stil der Paulusbriefe imitiert (421, 12-15): *ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ δίδοται ἑκάστῳ ἰδία γλῶσσα ὥσπερ κανών, ἤγουν, Ῥωμαϊστὶ λαλεῖς; ἄπελθε εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην. Περσιστὶ λαλεῖς; ἄπελθε εἰς τὴν Περσίαν.*[93] An den Abschnitt über den ersten Ikonoklastenkaiser Leon III. fügte Glykas einige erbauliche Geschichten (*ἱστορίαι ψυχωφελεῖς*), wie sie in Mönchskreisen besonders beliebt waren.[94] Glykas hat sie

91. Boissonade, *An. Gr.*, III, 361.
92. Greg. Nyss., *or. cat.* 8 (S. 43, 16) = *PG*, XLV, col. 33 CD.
93. Vgl. etwa 1 Kor. 7, 18, 27.
94. Vgl. P. Canart, "Trois groupes de récits édifiants byzantins," *Byzantion*, 36 (1966), 5-25.

kaum abgeschrieben, sondern geschickt nacherzählt. Die Leichtigkeit des Schreibens und der fehlende Zwang zu höherer Stilisierung haben Glykas dazu verleitet, vieles schablonenhaft und salopp wiederzugeben. Manches wurde durch allzu häufige Wiederholung blaß und langweilig. Beispiele für Einzelnes wurden oben aufgezeigt. Hier sei noch auf die wiederholte Verwendung von χρηματίζειν (= fungieren) hingewiesen. Wenn es von einem General gesagt wird (107, 12), hat es seine Richtigkeit. Etwas merkwürdig klingt schon, daß Eva im Paradies als Helferin zur Konstituierung des Menschengeschlechtes "fungierte" (157, 14). Wenn aber χρηματίζειν für die Umschreibung der Inkarnation verwendet wird (86, 13-15 Θεὸς . . . χρηματίζει τε τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἄνθρωπος καὶ πάντα τὰ λοιπὰ καταδέχεται), so grenzt diese Kurzformel und das schnoddrige πάντα· τὰ λοιπά an Blasphemie,–die bestimmt nicht beabsichtigt war. Es ist nicht weniger geschmacklos, wenn Johannes Chrysostomos "als goldene Trompete des Heiligen Geistes fungierte" (391, 12 f.): ὅτι καὶ σάλπιγξ οὗτος χρυσήλατος τοῦ παναγίου κεχρημάτικε πνεύματος. In dieselbe Richtung weist τὸ σεπτὸν ἐκεῖνο τῆς θεομήτορος συνήθροιστο θέατρον (432, 15 f.). Hier wird ein aus der profanen Rhetorik geläufiger Begriff[95] auf die Koimesis der Theotokos übertragen. Das Peinliche besteht darin, daß mit dem literarischen θέατρον die Vorstellung der ἐπίδειξις und des effektvollen Auftritts verbunden war, die in der Sterbeszene der Gottesmutter wohl nichts zu suchen haben. Hier zeigen sich die Schattenseiten der zweifellos vorhandenen Routine. Wir beobachten eine gewisse Nonchalance im Gebrauch der aus der Rhetorik stammenden Phrasen und Wörter, wie sie uns ähnlich schon in der Handhabung der Füllsätze entgegengetreten war. Man wird diese mangelnde Sorgfalt ebenfalls als Zeichen einer niedrigeren Stilstufe verstehen dürfen.

Zuletzt ein Wort der *captatio benevolentiae:* Ich bin mir der Anfechtbarkeit mancher Behauptungen dieses Beitrags wohl bewußt. Trotzdem hoffe ich, mehr als *disiecta membra* geboten zu haben. Vor allem sollte eine Anregung gegeben werden, bei Gelegenheit in größerem Zusammenhang auch die anderen byzantinischen Historiker und Chronographen in dieser Richtung zu untersuchen.

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95. H. Hunger, "Klassizistische Tendenzen in der byzantinischen Literatur des 14. Jh.," in *Actes du XIVe Congrès International des Etudes Byzantines,* hrsg. M. Berza und E. Stanescu, 3 Bände (Bucureşti: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1974-76), I, 139-51, hier 149 f.

BYZANTINE STUDIES/ETUDES BYZANTINES, 5, Pts. 1-2 (1978), 171-76.

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An International Controversy Over the Death Penalty in the Balkans in the Early Fourteenth Century

It is generally believed that the death penalty was widely used as punishment—and equally widely accepted as a popular amusement—in medieval society. Such was, indeed, the case in many instances and in many areas, but there were exceptions to the general practice, sometimes in the least expected places. A potentially dangerous international crisis in the early fourteenth century, confronting the city of Dubrovnik on the eastern shore of the Adriatic Sea, resulted when one such exception was proposed.

At the time, the immediate neighbor of Dubrovnik was the powerful Serbian kingdom, ruled then by the mighty King Stefan Uroš II Milutin (1282-1321). Serbia was in a state of full territorial expansion and experiencing an economic boom, attributed primarily to the enormous output from its mines which were being tapped in this period.[1] Dubrovnik had played a major role in this growth ever since its inception in the mid-thirteenth century and had become the main intermediary in the increasing westward flow of Serbian copper, iron, lead, and, above all, silver. Naturally, the city profited greatly by this new found source of wealth. Investments and interests of Ragusans in the Serbian mineral market grew increasingly and Dubrovnik had every reason to try to maintain the best possible relations with Serbia.

This was not always an easy achievement, because King Milutin retained the old Serbian desire to conquer the Adriatic city, with its excellent port facilities and experienced shipbuilders, captains, sailors and merchants. The most recent manifestation of such an appetite had been a war between Serbia and Dubrovnik in the opening years of the fourteenth century.[2] The question of the death penalty became, rather unexpectedly, a source of potential friction between the two Balkan neighbors.

Dubrovnik, under Venetian protection since 1205, had the penalty on its

1. On King Milutin, see K. Jireček, *Istorija Srba,* 2 vols. (Beograd: Naučna knjiga, 1952), I, 189-202. On mining, see M. Dinić, *Za istoriju rudarstva u srednjevekovnoj Srbiji i Bosni*, 2 vols. Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti. Posebna izdanja, 240, 355 (Beograd: Naučna knjiga, 1955-62).

2. B. Krekić, *Dubrovnik in the 14th and 15th Centuries: A City between East and West* (Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1972), pp. 20-24; *idem,* "Zašto je vodjen i kada je završen rat Dubrovnika i Srbije 1301-1302?," *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta SANU,* 17 (1976), 417-23.

books and used it as punishment, especially in cases of homicide.[3] This was, of course, in full accordance with Venetian concepts and attitudes. Serbia, like Dubrovnik, had the same penalty among its laws, but its application, apparently, was not as generalized, and it was defined in more detail, taking into account a variety of cases and circumstances.[4] In a number of instances, the Serbian law prescribed maiming and fines instead of the death penalty. The payments were known as *vražda*, both in Serbia and in Dubrovnik.[5] It was around this institution that an international controversy, involving Venice, Dubrovnik, and Serbia, broke out in the early 1300's.

From early times it had been customary for Ragusans, found guilty of murdering a Serb, to pay a *vražda* in the amount of 500 *hyperpers*, and the same fine was levied on Serbs killing Ragusans. The practice was one that the Venetians had trouble accepting, because it was foreign to their way of thinking about punishment for homicide. In 1306, Venice ordered that a Ragusan patrician, Marko Lukarević, and his accomplices, implicated in the murder of a Serb, be banished from Dubrovnik.[6] It was in connection with this case, or with another contemporary murder of a Serb by a Ragusan, that the controversy arose.

The Venetian Count of Dubrovnik, Belleto Fallier (1305-07), and a minority of Ragusan patricians, decided to ignore in this instance the "antiqua con-

3. See *Liber statutorum civitatis Ragusii compositus anno 1272*, ed. V. Bogišić and C. Jireček, Monumenta historicojuridica Slavorum meridionalium . . . , vol. IX (Zagreb: typis expressit Societas typographica, 1904), l. VI, c. I: "Quicunque fecerit homicidium, nisi se defendendo, quod plene possit probari, moriatur" (pp. 124-25). If the criminal escaped, he would be banished forever and lose his possessions.

4. *Zakonik Cara Stefana Dušana 1349 i 1354*, ed. N. Radojčić, Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti (Beograd: Naučno delo, 1960), pp. 59, 61, 62, 114, 116, and 117. Although this code is from the mid-fourteenth century, it certainly reflects the previously existing situation. For the coastal city of Kotor, see I. Sindik, *Komunalno uredjenje Kotora od druge polovine XII do početka XV stoleća*, Srpska akademija nauka, Posebna izdanja, 105 (Beograd, 1950), pp. 119 and 123-24.

5. *Liber statutorum*, index, p. 459. The editors, Bogišić and Jireček define *vražda* as "compositio maleficii solutione denariorum, datorum vulnerato vel propinquis interfecti." In explaining the term in Dušan's *Code*, Radojčić says that *vražda* is a fine for homicide or grave physical mutilation, "mulcta homicidii, compositio pecuniaria pro homicidio vel membrorum mutilatione," but adds that it can also mean homicide itself. *Zakonik*, p. 94, n. 2. On the various usages of *vražda* in Dušan's *Code*, see *ibid.*, pp. 47, 62, 73, 80, 94, 118, 131, and 138. On *vražda* in the Balkans in general, see Jireček, *Istorija*, II, 119 and 133-34.

6. S. Ljubić, *Listine o odnošajih Južnoga Slavenstva i Mletačke Republike*, 11 vols., Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium (Zagreb, 1868-93), I, 212. In mid-October, 1309, the banishment of Lukarević and his accomplices was prolonged for another year "propter homicidium quod dicitur factum per eos in personam unius fidelis regis Urosii," *ibid.*, p. 245. This decision, however, was immediately changed and Lukarević and the others, "uccisori di un uomo del re Uroscio," were freed from banishment. G. Giomo, *Lettere di Collegio rectius Minor Consiglio*, Miscellanea di storia veneta, ser. III. (Venezia, 1910-), I, 340.

suetudo," observed "per omnes reges et homines Sclavonie et tocius regnaminis cum omnibus comitibus et homines (sic!) Ragusii," concerning the *vražda.* Fallier wanted, instead, to proceed according to a law promulgated by an earlier Venetian Count of Dubrovnik, Giovanni Tiepolo (1237-38), justifying his choice of action by saying that he was obligated by his oath of office to implement that law.[7] Although we do not have preserved the text of the Tiepolo statute,[8] it is obvious that it implied–as did the Ragusan Statutes of 1272–the application of the death penalty, without exception, for murder. The count was determined to enforce this law rigidly, disregarding possible grave consequences for Dubrovnik's relations with Serbia in the event that the ancient custom, relating to a delicate area of mutual relations, was suddenly and drastically changed.

The Ragusans, however, were well aware of the dangers that such a change could bring about for themselves and their business interests in Serbia. The result was a "discordia inter dictum dominum Comitem et homines Ragusii." To resolve the problem, they asked the doge to arbitrate. The doge, having studied the situation, ordered the count to proceed "secundum dicta statuta," that is to say, to enforce the death penalty.[9] The Ragusans, nevertheless, did not give up. In the meantime, Fallier left Dubrovnik, in 1307, at the expiration of his mandate there, without carrying out the doge's order, perhaps even before the answer from Venice had arrived.

The new count, Andrea Dauro (1307-09), was an old acquaintance of Dubrovnik, having previously served in the same capacity from 1299 to 1301. After he took over, a solemn embassy, consisting of three Ragusan patricians, was sent to Venice. They were to review the whole problem with the doge and to request, respectfully but explicitly, that "de cetero . . . antiqua consuetudo vrasde servaretur."[10] All indications are that the Ragusan petition provoked a lively debate in the Venetian Major Council in March, 1308; it doubtless shocked and outraged a good many members of that body. Some took the position that such a request was "contra Deum," the result of their objections being that a delegation of four councilors was sent to consult "cum religiosis personis." The advice of those consulted was that the proposal not to execute assassins was not "contra Deum."[11]

Despite this authoritative opinion, the Venetian Major Council decided not to accede to Ragusan entreaties without further effort on the part of the Ragusans to enforce the death penalty, in accordance with Venetian views. In

7. *Liber statutorum,* l. VIII, c. LVIII (p. 201).

8. For Giovanni Tiepolo and his law, see *Liber statutorum,* pp. VI, LXVII and LXIX; also *Chronica ragusina Junii Restii,* ed. N. Nodilo, JAZU (Zagreb, 1893), p. 104.

9. *Liber statutorum,* l. VIII, c. LVIII (p. 201).

10. *Ibid.*

11. Ljubić, p. 224.

a letter, given on 8 April 1308, to the Ragusan ambassadors, the Venetians emphasized another point. They pointed out that, when the Venetian counts of Dubrovnik assumed office, they were given by the doge a "commission," establishing certain rules for their behavior in Dubrovnik, to which they had to adhere strictly. The clauses of the commission could be altered only by the doge.[12] Among the instructions contained in the commissions was one stating that "qui interficit alium debet mori." The Ragusan ambassadors had asked that this clause be invalidated as far as relations with the Serbs were concerned, thus allowing them to deal with Serbia on equal terms in murder cases.

The Venetian government, however, decided that Dubrovnik should first, by sending an embassy to Serbia, make another attempt to convince King Milutin to execute such criminals. The embassy should explain to the king "quod . . . quelibet lex divina et humana praecipiat et sic per mundum servetur, quod qui interficit alium moriatur." Such justice "Deo et hominibus et toti mundo amabilis est." For its part, Dubrovnik was supposed to express readiness to punish Ragusan criminals in similar ways, "scilicet punire mortem pro morte." Only should the king reject this demand was Dubrovnik free to treat Ragusan assassins in the same fashion as the Serbs, that is to say, make them pay a *vražda* of 500 *hyperpers* instead of executing them. The clause concerning this point in the count's commission and in the laws of Giovanni Tiepolo would, under those circumstances, be revoked.[13]

Upon receiving the doge's reply, Dubrovnik did, indeed, send a solemn embassy to King Milutin. The ambassadors showed him the doge's letter (probably, among other reasons, to make clear that it was not their idea) and requested that he introduce the death penalty as punishment for Serbian assassins, while expressing readiness to do the same for Ragusan ones. The king, an authoritarian and energetic man, firmly rejected the Ragusan demand. He said that "in hoc nullo modo assentiret et quod nolebat spargere sanguinem suorum." He insisted on preserving the ancient custom of *vražda* observed by his predecessors. Milutin added, somewhat haughtily, "quod Ragusei facerent de suis Raguseis quicquid vellent, sed ipse aliud non faceret de suis hominibus, nisi secundum dictam consuetudinem vrasde." Finally, he gave a solemn

12. B. Krekić, "Le relazioni fra Venezia, Ragusa e le popolazioni serbo-croate," in *Venezia e il Levante fino al secolo XV,* Civiltà veneziana, Studi, 27 (Firenze: L. S. Olschki, 1973-), I, 397.

13. *Liber statutorum,* l. VIII, c. LVIII (p. 201); l. VIII, c. LIX (p. 203). *Codex diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae,* ed. T. Smičiklas, Izdala Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti (Zagreb: ex officina Societatis typographicae, 1904-), VIII, 154-55.

oath to the ambassadors and a letter on the subject for Dubrovnik and its count.[14]

Having thus obtained a clear and unequivocal statement from the Serbian king, the Ragusan count, with the major and minor councils of the city and "cum laudo populi in cuncione publica in platea comunis . . . cogregata," proclaimed that the ancient custom of *vražda* in the amount of 500 *hyperpers* would continue to be observed between Dubrovnik and Serbia. Although King Milutin's attitude and statement protected them from any unfavorable reaction from Venice, the Ragusans were cautious enough to emphasize that this decision was taken "volentes literas et mandatum domini nostri d. ducis reverenter servare" and also for the good of Dubrovnik and its citizens. The decision and the letters pertaining to it were written into the Ragusan Statute Book, in two separate chapters, on 19 September 1308, an indication of the importance of the matter to the Ragusans.[15]

There can be no doubt that, throughout the period of negotiations, the overriding concern for Dubrovnik was to preserve stable, although delicate, links with Serbia, whose resources had become vital to the development of the city. Proof of Venetian pressure and of Dubrovnik's precarious position can be found in the fact that, although it cared strongly enough about its relations with Serbia, Dubrovnik was compelled, nevertheless, to comply with Venetian desires to impose the death penalty to the extent of sending, although reluctantly, an embassy to the Serbian ruler in an effort to convince him that the by-passing of the ancient custom was justified.

In the end, the Venetians' attempt to impose their views and attitudes, regarding a very important aspect of Serb-Ragusan relations, failed.[16] No doubt, the majority of Ragusans gave a sigh of relief. The failure of the Venetian effort can be attributed to the clear and resolute stand taken by the Serbian king, but it was also, probably, the consequence of halfhearted Ragusan support for the Venetian endeavor. The Ragusans were well aware of what might be at stake for them if the policies advocated by the Venetians had been implemented.

One wonders why the Venetians tried to enforce so rigidly a law which, ultimately, did not affect their citizens. Why were they reluctant to use their time-tested flexibility in this case? The answer can hardly lie in moralistic or religious concepts of the Venetians, for it is well known that they were prac-

14. *Liber statutorum,* l. VIII, c. LVIII (p. 202). *Chronica . . . Restii,* p. 105, quotes the king as saying "non voler lui spargere il sangue dei propri sudditi, ma star alle antiche usanze . . . ; esser poi la repubblica padrona d'ammazzar li proprj sudditi come le pareva e piaceva; lui star constante nelle antiche convenzioni."

15. *Liber statutorum, ibid.*

16. According to *Chronica . . . Resti,* p. 105, *vražda* survived the Ottoman occupation of Serbia and was still enforced between Dubrovnik and the hinterland in Resti's own time, in the early eighteenth century, "quando alla repubblica cosi torna conto."

tical and pragmatic enough to adjust those principles to their needs whenever they found it convenient to do so. The explanation is, probably, that this Venetian maneuver was another way of asserting their supremacy over Dubrovnik and of attempting to confirm their influence over that city's relations with other countries.

The international stir created by the Venetian policies, which required a three-cornered diplomatic activity to resolve the problem, indicates how important the whole subject of the death penalty in Serbo-Ragusan and Veneto-Ragusan relations had become. Still, the controversy did not provoke a major international crisis nor, more importantly, did it disrupt the flow of trade between the Balkans and the West through Dubrovnik.

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A Linguistic Analysis of the Akathistos Hymn

Introduction

The *Akathistos Hymn*[1] is the most debated text in medieval Greek literature, by reason of the multiple literary problems it presents. The very structure of the hymn is unusual, for while it is a *kontakion*,[2] that is a poetic sermon, the eulogistic element prevails in it.

A normal *kontakion* consists of the following parts: a) the *koukoulion* (*prooemium*), which is metrically and musically independent of the rest of the composition; b) the *oikoi* (strophes), the number of which varies between eighteen and forty and which are written on the metrical and musical pattern of the *heirmos* (i.e., the first strophe); c) the alphabetical or nominal *acrostic*, which binds together all the strophes of a *kontakion* in an organic unity and constitutes the mark of its genuiness; d) the *ephymnion*, common to the *prooemium* and the strophes. In accordance with these principles for instance, the famous *kontakion* "Mary at the Cross" (no. 19)[3] of Romanos the Melodist, presents the following picture: a) *prooemium* Τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς σταυρωθέντα; b-c) seventeen strophes written in the metrical and musical form of the first strophe Τὸν ἴδιον ἄρνα and bound together by the acrostic ΤΟΥ ΤΑΠΙΝΟΥ ΡΩΜΑΝΟΥ; d) *ephymnion* Ὁ υἱὸς καὶ θεός μου.

The *Akathistos Hymn* shows many important divergencies from this general model. These are, of course, explained by the fact that it was originally composed to meet different liturgical requirements (joint celebration of the Annunciation and the Nativity) and further that it was later used in special cases (doxologies for the preservation of Constantinople from barbarian invasions in 626, 673 and 718 through the miraculous intervention of Mary the Virgin), which necessitated its adaptation to modern historical circumstances. The hymn has three *prooemia*, of which it has been proved

1. A detailed treatment of all the literary problems of the *Akathistos Hymn* is to be found in the chapter, "Romanos and the Akathistos Hymn," in my book Βυζαντινὴ Ὑμνογραφία, vol. I: Ἀπὸ τὴν Καινὴ Διαθήκη ἕως τὴν Εἰκονομαχία, Christian Literature, No. 1 (Thessaloniki: Patriarchal Institute for Patristic Studies, 1971), pp. 483 ff. At the end of the book there is appended an analytical bibliography of the *Akathistos Hymn* (pp. 533-36).

2. On the *kontakion* in general and on all technical hymnographical terms used in this study, see *ibid.*, I, 17 ff.

3. The numbering of the *kontakia* of Romanos follows the edition of P. Maas and C. A. Trypanis, *Sancti Romani Melodi Cantica. Cantica Genuina* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963).

that only the first, Τὸ μυστικῶς προσταχθέν, is genuine. The text has twenty-four strophes, of which half (the odd-numbered ones) have seventeen lines and the other half (the even-numbered ones) five lines. However, the first five lines of all strophes are written on the same metrical model, which entails the same musical model:

˘υ˘υυ-υ υυ-υυ-υ
υ˘υυυ˘υυ-υ
υυ-υυ˘υυ-
υυ-υ˘υυυ- -υυ
υ-υθυ-υυ υ˘υυυ˘υ-υ

In the odd strophes another twelve lines are added, containing a series of poetic salutations addressed to Mary the Virgin:

-υυ-υυ˘υ-υ
-υυ-υυ˘υ-υ
-υυυ-υυ-υυ-υυ
-υυυ-υυ-υυ-υυ
-υ-υυυ-υυ υυ˘ῦυυ-
-υ-υυυ-υυ υυ-υυυ-
-υυυυ-υ υυ-υυ-υ
-υυυυ-υ υυ-υυ-υ
-υυ-υ-υυ-υυ
-υυθυ-υυ-υυ
-υυ-υυ-υυ-υ
-υυ-υυ-υυ-υ

The odd strophes also differ from the even as regards the *ephymnion*. In the first set the *ephymnion* is χαῖρε, νύμφη ἀνύμφευτε, and in the second ἀλληλούϊα.

The doctrinal character of the *Akathistos Hymn* is also dual, being mariological in strophes 2-6, 17, 19, 21, 23-4 and christological in strophes 1, 7-16, 18, 20, 22, a fact which makes clear that, as it has been noted above, this *kontakion* originally served a common celebration of the Annunciation and the Nativity. Finally, the *Akathistos Hymn* is unique in this respect too: it is the only *kontakion* that has survived and is sung *in toto* today. Of all the once rich and important poetry of the *kontakia*, very little remains in the liturgical books and it is used as interposed *kathismata* to provide variation in the performance of the canons.

The most complex problem concerning the *Akathistos Hymn*, closely connected with that of its authorship, is the date. Each date, of course, entails the adoption of a different poet. For over a century now scholars

have been discussing the extent to which it is likely that the hymn is the work of a very early period, perhaps the fourth century A. D., in which case the author must be sought from among the important poets of that time such as Appollinarios of Laodicea; or whether it is more probable that it is of a very late period, say the eighth or ninth centuries, in which case the authorship may be attributed to such hymnographers as Andrew of Crete or Patriarch Photius. However, it is now generally accepted that the hymn, by reason of its mariological character, cannot have been written earlier than the Synod of Ephesus (431), nor later than the division of the originally united celebration of the Annunciation and the Nativity into two independent feasts in the time of Justinian (527-65). The *Akathistos Hymn* is consequently a product of the time of great flourishing of the *kontakion*, since it must have been written about the end of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century.

The *Akathistos Hymn* has come down to us as an anonymous composition, but there is no doubt that it is the work of a great poet. Now, it is rather curious that this great anonymous poet, who cannot have written just one work and then fallen silent, is a contemporary of the other great poet of that age, Romanos the Melodist. Many scholars have been therefore tempted to identify the poet of the hymn with Romanos himself. There is naturally a great deal of evidence (metrical, musical, doctrinal, usage of the same sources, etc.) which argues for the ascription of the hymn to Romanos, just as there is some evidence that imposes a certain caution. The principal piece of evidence in the latter argument lies in the manuscript tradition of the hymn which nowhere mentions the name of Romanos as the author of the *Akathistos*. The only manuscript that makes reference to Romanos as the author is *Codex 41* of the Vlataion Monastery in Thessaloniki in a marginal note of much later provenence than the text on f. 193r, which cannot have any significance as evidence.

There is, however, another body of evidence that has so far remained unused, the language of the *Akathistos Hymn*. A detailed linguistic analysis[4] of this masterpiece of Byzantine literature will perhaps show that it does not share common means of expression and elements of style with the *kontakia* of Romanos, in which case its ascription to the great hymnographer is based upon solely external–and therefore precarious–indications; and, on the other hand, it may reveal such evidence as to make the possibility that this famous hymn was written by Romanos a certainty.

4. In this study, I have used the critically established text of the *Akathistos Hymn* from the edition of C. A. Trypanis, *Fourteen Early Byzantine Cantica*, Wiener Byzantinistische Studien, Bd. V (Wien-Graz-Köln: Böhlau in Kommission, 1968). The analysis of common means of expression and elements of style in the *Akathistos Hymn* and the *kontakia* of Romanos the Melodist is made on the basis of my book, *The Language of Romanos the Melodist*, Byzantinisches Archiv, No. 11 (München: Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1967), to the paragraphs of which I continually refer, using the symbol §. Other abbreviations which the reader should bear in mind are:

Part One: Grammar

1. *Phonology*. There is little to say about the phonology of the *Akathistos Hymn*. a) To start with accentuation, shift of accent is not observed except in one case, that of the final conjunction *ἵνα* which becomes *ἱνά*, the accent moving from the penultimate to the ultimate: *ἱνὰ τὸ θαῦμα* ιγ.5[1]. Cf. Romanos 9.α.2[1] (see § 9b). b) Elision (cf. γ.10[2], ιη.4 etc.) and crasis (cf. ιε.12[1] etc.) are used whenever and wherever metrically required. This means that elision and crasis, both phenomena of the so-called *συναλοιφή*, are not employed so that hiatus shall be avoided. Byzantine hymnographers pay no attention to hiatus. c) The Attic double *ττ* is kept in all verbal forms (cf. *ἀπαλλάττουσα* ϑ.15, *καταπλήττουσα* κα.9, *φυλάττουσα* ϑ.9. etc.), whereas double *σσ* appears in all nominal forms (cf. *ϑάλασσα* ια.10[1]).

2. *Morphology*. a) Substantives: The noun *υἱός* of the second declension is considered as trisyllabic, that is *υἱϊός* (cf. Romanos 5.ιη.5[3], see § 45). The semitic proper noun *Συμεών* (otherwise indeclinable) becomes a third declension noun so that it rhymes with the words *αἰών* and *ἀπατεών* (punning assonance): *μέλλοντος Συμεῶνος τοῦ παρόντος αἰῶνος μεθίστασθαι τοῦ ἀπατεῶνος* ιβ. 1-2. b) Adjectives: Some adjectives form a superlative compound with *παν-*, *πανάγιος* ιε. 10[1] but then *πανάριστος* (double superlative; this form occurs already in classical Greek, see LSJ s.v.) ιε.11[1]. c) Verbs: Some irregularities in the augment of the verb are interesting: *ἴδον* for *εἶδον* (cf. Romanos 47. § 1[1] *εἰδεῖν* for *ἰδεῖν*, see § 87) ϑ.1. That this form is correct is certain because the vowel *ι* is part of the alphabetic acrostic of the poem and is explained by the so-called *ἀντιστοιχία*. The verb *ἀνοίγω* also forms a regular past tense, that is with temporal augment alone, *ἠνοίχθη* (see § 85b) ιε. 15.

IANE . . . . . 'Ακαδημία 'Αθηνῶν, Ιστορικὸν Λεξικὸν τῆς Νέας 'Ελληνικῆς τῆς τε καινῆς ὁμιλουμένης καὶ τῶν ἰδιωμάτων, 4 vols. (Athinai: Ἔκδ. "Πρωΐας," 1933-53).

L . . . . . *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*,, ed G. W. H. Lampe (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961).

ΛΔ . . . . . D. B. Demetrakos, Μέγα Λεξικὸν τῆς 'Ελληνικῆς Γλώσσης, 9 vols. (Athinai: 'Αρχαῖος 'Εκδοτικὸς Οἶκος Δ. Δημητράκου, 1933-61).

LSJ . . . . . H. G. Liddell, R. Scott and H. S. Jones, *A Greek English Lexicon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968).

S . . . . . E. A. Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods (B.C. 146 to A.D. 1100)* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1870).

Part Two: Syntax

3. *Syntactical Peculiarities*. a) The cases: The nominative is employed in place of the vocative, a Hellenistic phenomenon, *μήτηρ κδ*.1[1], *σωτὴρ ια*.3 etc. b) The Prepositions: As far as the use of the prepositions is concerned the following cases are significant but not unique: *ἐν* with dative (instrumental dative), *πολλοὺς ἐν γνώσει φωτίζουσα ιζ*. 15, *τοῖς θέλουσι θερίζειν σωτηρίαν ἐν τῷ ψάλλειν δ*.5; adjectives meaning *ὅμοιος* are constructed with the preposition *κατὰ* and accusative, *ἐφάνη καθ' ἡμᾶς ὅμοιος* 13.4 etc. c) The Pronouns: Concerning the use of the relative pronouns the following two peculiarities occur already in classical, but more often in Hellenistic Greek: the employment of a relative instead of a demonstrative pronoun at the beginning of a period or of a colon, *ὃν καὶ βλέπων*, prooemium I.6[1] (also in Romanos, see § 246a); the attraction of the relative pronoun by the word upon which it depends, *ὧν δέδωκας* that is *ἄξιον τούτων, ἃ δέδωκας ἡμῖν*) *κ*. 5[2] (also in Romanos, see § 246b). d) The Adverbs; The *Akathistos Hymn* also shows confusion about the direction of local adverbs: *ἔνδοθεν* for *ἔνδον, ζάλην ἔνδοθεν ἔχων* 5.1[1], but then also *οὐρανόθεν ἐπέμφθη α*.1[2]. e) The Verbs: The verb *εἰμὶ* is often replaced by *ὑπάρχω, χαῖρε, ὅτι ὑπάρχεις βασιλέως καθέδρα α*.12, *καὶ ποιμὴν ὑπάρχων ὡς θεὸς ιη* .3; the present participle of *εἰμὶ* is often omitted, *ἑαυτὴν ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ* (i.e., *οὖσαν*) *β*.1[1], also *ια*.12[2], *κα*.1[2] etc. It must be noted though that the omission of some participles other than that of the verb *εἰμί*, which are not always easy to supply, causes a certain vagueness in expression, *χαῖρε, ὄχημα πανάγιον τοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν Χερουβίμ* (*ἐποχουμένου*?), *χαῖρε, οἴκημα πανάριστον τοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν Σεραφείμ* (*οἰκοῦντος*?) *ιε*.10-11.

Part Three: Style

When we take into consideration that the *Akathistos Hymn* is the most elaborate poem in the entirety of Byzantine hymnography, an examination of its figures of speech is obviously of great significance. The general impression one gets from this close examination is that the poet of the *Akathistos* shows a special interest in all figures that depend upon assonance.

4. *Figures of Repetition*. a) Anadiplosis (or epanadiplosis, the repetition of the same word within the same clause, see § 317): *τεῖχος εἶ τῶν παρθένων, θεοτόκε παρθένε ιθ*. 1 etc. b) Anaphora (or epanaphora, the repetition of the same word in the same or different form at the beginning of two or more consecutive verses, see § 318): *χαῖρε, δι' ἧς ἡ χαρὰ ἐκλάμψει // χαῖρε, δι' ἧς ἡ ἀρὰ ἐκλείψει α*. 6-7, *passim*. c) Cyclos (the repetition of the initial word at the conclusion of the verse, see § 320): *ὅλος ἦν ἐν τοῖς κάτω καὶ τῶν ἄνω οὐδ' ὅλως ιε*.1.

5. *Figures of Redundancy*. a) Periphrasis (see § 324): *ἐν ἀγνείᾳ* (*οὖσαν*, i.e. *ἀγνεύουσαν*, cf. the ephymnion from Methodios' *Parthenion*, *ἀγνεύω σοι καὶ λαμπάδας φαεσφόρους κρατοῦσα, νυμφίε, ὑπαντάνω σοι*; see Méthode

d'Olympe, *Le Banquet*, ed. H. Musurillo [Paris, 1963], p. 310) β.1[2], λαβὼν ἐν γνώσει (γνοὺς) prooemium I.1[2]. b) Antonomasia (antonomasia is included among the figures of redundancy when a periphrasis is employed for the designation of a person, otherwise it is a subdivision of the so-called *συνεκδοχή*, see § 325): νύμφη ἀνύμφευτε (=bride unbrided, i.e., Mary the Virgin) α.18, γ.18, passim, τῇ ἀπειρογάμῳ (=untried in marriage, i.e., Mary the Virgin) prooemium I.1[3], ὁ ἀσώματος (=the bodiless one, i.e., Gabriel) prooemium I.3[1]etc.

6. *Figures of Assonance*. a) Alliteration (the recurrence of the same letter or letters in succeeding words, see § 332): ζάλην ἔνδοθεν ἔχων λογισμῶν ἀμφιβόλων ς.1, χαῖρε, ἀοράτων θυρῶν ἀμυντήριον· // χαῖρε, παραδείσου θυρῶν ἀνοικτήριον ζ.8-9 etc. b) Paronomasia (similarity in the sounds of words of the same stem, see § 333): χαῖρε, δι' ἧς ἡ χαρὰ ἐκλάμψει α.6, γνῶσιν ἄγνωστον γνῶναι γ.1[1], χαῖρε, γεωργὸν γεωργοῦσα φιλάνθρωπον· //χαῖρε,φυτουργὸν τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν φύουσα ε.8-9, ξένον τόκον ἰδόντες ξενωθῶμεν τοῦ κόσμου ιδ.1, χαῖρε, φιλοσόφους ἀσόφους δεικνύουσα· //χαῖρε, τεχνολόγους ἀλόγους ἐλέγχουσα ις. 8-9 etc. c) Punning assonance (similarity in the sounds of words of different stem, see § 334): καὶ ἅλμασιν ὡς ἅσμασιν ε.5, ἀφέντες τὸν Ἡρώδην ὡς ληρώδη ι.5, χαῖρε, τῶν εἰδώλων τὸν δόλον ἐλέγξασα ια.9, μέλλοντος Συμεῶνος τοῦ παρόντος αἰῶνος // μεθίστασθαι τοῦ ἀπατεῶνος ιβ.1-2 etc.

7. *Homoioteleuton* (see § 335). As in Romanos, homoioteleuton may appear at the end of a colon (weak sense pause) within a line and, of course, at the end of a line (medium sense pause).

a) Homoioteleuton at the end of a colon within a line: This inner homoioteleuton occurs in all the odd strophes of the *Akathistos* within lines 10-13: χαῖρε, ὕψος δυσανάβατον ἀνθρωπίνοις λογισμοῖς· // χαῖρε, βάθος δυσθεώρητον καὶ ἀγγέλων ὀφθαλμοῖς·//χαῖρε, ὅτι ὑπάρχεις βασιλέως καθέδρα·// χαῖρε, ὅτι βαστάζεις τὸν βαστάζοντα πάντα α.10-13. Cf. also ε. 10-13, ζ.10-13, ιγ. 10-13, ιε.10-13, ιθ.10-13, κα.10-13. There are three strophes, γ.12-13, ια.10-11 and κγ.12-13, where this inner homoioteleuton appears only in two lines.

b) Homoiteleuton at the end of a line: Homoiteleuton does not occur regularly in all the verses of the salutations, therefore we cannot speak of an early employment of rhyme; this rich, sometimes excessive, homoiteleuton may indicate the educational background of the poet of the *Akathistos Hymn*. If he can make such an abundant and yet masterly usage of all figures of speech and particularly of the homoioteleution, in all probability he had had his training in some of the schools of rhetoric which were still flourishing in the Middle East at the end of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth centuries.[5]

5. This is also the portrait of Romanos. See my work, *The Language of Romanos the Melodist*, p. 2.

It has been stated above that in no case does the homoioteleuton appear in all twelve lines of the salutations. In the best cases it appears in 10 out of 12 verses, cf. strophe *ιγ*.6-18. The frequency of the homoioteleuton in other strophes presents the following picture: *α*.6-13, *γ*.6-9, 12-5, *ε*.6-7, 10-17, *ϑ*.8-9, 14-17, *ια*.6-9, 14-15, *ιε*.6-13, *ιζ*.6-15, *ιϑ*.6-9, 11-12, 16-17, *κα*.8-17, *κγ*.10-13, 16-17.

c) Mixed homoioteleuton: It occurs at the end of a line and at the end of the first colon of the following line. This is a rather sophisticated form of homoioteleuton which appears regularly in the third and fourth verses of all the strophes of the *Akathistos Hymn*, *καὶ τὴν εὔκαρπον ταύτης νηδὺν //ὡς ἀγρὸν ἀπέδειξεν ἡδὺν* > < *ἅπασι δ*.3-4. Cf. also strophes *γ*, *δ*, *ζ*, *η*, *ι*, *ιδ*, *ιε*, *ις*, *ιϑ*, *κβ*, *κγ*. In such cases we may also include strophes *β*, *ια*, *ιβ*, *κδ*, where the homoioteleution is limited to the coincidence of the final vowel, *φωνῆς-ψυχῇ β*.3-4[1], *σωτὴρ-ἰσχὺν ια*.3-4[1], etc. Strophes *α*, *ε*, *ζ*, *ϑ*, *ιγ*, *ιζ*, *ιη*, *κ*, *κα* lack this mixed homoioteleuton completely.

8. *Metaphors*. In a poem like the *Akathistos*, whose main characteristics are the eulogies, the employment of metaphors is to be considered as an indispensable part of its poetic diction (see § 336). The author draws his metaphors from the surrounding world of nature (the sky, the sea, agricultural and bucolic life), from man's social life (royal splendour, wedding, the home), and from the Old Testament.

a) Metaphors from the world of nature. i) The sky (with the sun, the stars, clouds, darkness and daylight, thunder and lightning): *χαῖρε, ἀκτὶς νοητοῦ ἡλίου κα*.6-7, *χαῖρε, ὅτι τὸν πολύφωτον ἀνατέλλεις φωτισμὸν κα*.10, *χαῖρε, ἀστὴρ ἐμφαίνων τὸν ἥλιον α*.14, *χαῖρε, ἀστέρος ἀδύτου μήτηρ ϑ*.6, *χαῖρε αὐγὴ μυστικῆς ἡμέρας ϑ*.7, *χαῖρε, σκέπη τοῦ κόσμου πλατυτέρα νεφέλης ια*.13, *χαῖρε, ἀστραπὴ τὰς ψυχὰς καταλάμπουσα κα*.8, *χαῖρε, ὡς βροντὴ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς καταπλήττουσα κα*.9 ii). The sea (with fishermen, nets, boats, ports etc.): *χαῖρε, τῶν ἁλιέων τὰς σαγήνας πληροῦσα·//χαῖρε, βυθοῦ ἀγνοίας ἐξέλκουσα ιζ*.13-14, *χαῖρε, ὁλκὰς τῶν ἐϑελόντων σωϑῆναι·//χαῖρε, λιμὴν τῶν τοῦ βίου πλωτήρων ιζ*.16-17, *χαῖρε, ὅτι τὸν λιμένα τῶν ψυχῶν ἑτοιμάζεις ε*.13. iii), Agricultural life (with fields, meadows, trees, plants, flowers etc.): *χαῖρε, ἄρουρα βλαστάνουσα εὐφορίαν οἰκτιρμῶν ε*.10, *χαῖρε, δένδρον ἀγλαόκαρπον, ἐξοὐτρέφονται πιστοί·//χαῖρε, ξύλον εὐσκιόφυλλον, ὑφ' οὗ σκέπονται πολλοὶ ιγ*.10-11, *χαῖρε, τὸ ἄνθος τῆς ἀφθαρσίας, ιγ*.6. iv) Bucolic life: *ϑεωροῦσι τοῦτον ὡς ἀμνὸν ἄμωμον //ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ Μαρίας βοσκηϑέντα ζ*.4-5, *χαῖρε, αὐλὴ λογικῶν προβάτων ζ*.7.

b) Metaphors from man's social life. i) The splendour of royal life: *χαῖρε, τίμιον διάδημα βασιλέων εὐσεβῶν κγ*.10, *χαῖρε, τὸ στέμμα τῆς ἐγκρατείας ιγ*.7, *χαῖρε, ὅτι ὑπάρχεις βασιλέως καθέδρα α*.12. ii) Marriage and wedding: *χαῖρε, παστὰς ἀσπόρου νυμφεύσεως ιϑ*.14. *χαῖρε, ψυχῶν νυμφοστόλε ἁγίων ιϑ*.17. iii) The home (house, staircase, gate, key etc.): *χαῖρε, κλῖμαξ ἐπουράνιε, δι' ἧς κατέβη ὁ ϑεὸς β*.10, *χαῖρε, ἡ πύλη τῆς σωτηρίας ιϑ*.7, *χαῖρε,*

ἡ κλεὶς τῆς Χριστοῦ βασιλείας ιε.16, χαῖρε, παραδείσου θυρῶν ἀνοικτήριον ζ.9.

c) Metaphors from the Old Testament (Exodus): χαῖρε, θάλασσα ποντίσασα Φαραὼ τὸν νοητὸν ια.10, χαῖρε, πέτρα ἡ ποτίσασα τοὺς διψῶντας τὴν ζωὴν ια.11, χαῖρε, τροφὴ τοῦ μάννα διάδοχε ια.14.

9. *Parallelismus Membrorum*. A semitic figure of speech that entered the Greek language through the Septuagint and the Greek translations of Ephrem the Syrian. It has also been influenced in the same direction by the corresponding possibilities of Greek rhetorical expressions, the so-called "Gorgianic figures": χαῖρε, τὸ τῶν ἀγγέλων πολυθρύλητον θαῦμα·//χαῖρε, τὸ τῶν δαιμόνων πολυθρήνητον τραῦμα γ.12-13, χαῖρε, ἀνόρθωσις τῶν ἀνθρώπων//χαῖρε, κατάπτωσις τῶν δαιμόνων ια.6-7, χαῖρε, δένδρον ἀγλαόκαρπον, ἐξ οὗ τρέφονται πιστοί·// χαῖρε, ξύλον εὐσκιόφυλλον ὑφ' οὗ σκέπονται πολλοὶ ιγ.10-11.

10. *The Vocabulary of the* Akathistos Hymn.[6] The general impression is that the vocabulary of the *Akathistos* represents the theological vocabulary of the Church fathers from the fourth to the seventh centuries. A detailed examination of the most important words of the poem reveals that they belong to the theological debates then current: αἴγλη η.2, ἀναθάλλω ε.12, ἀναλλοιώτως prooemium I.5[1], ἀπειρόγαμος prooemium I.3[2], δ.2, ἀπερίγραπτος ιε.2, ἀπογεννῶ ιγ.13[1] ἀπρόσιτος ις.3, ἄσοφος ιζ.8, ἀσώματος prooemium I.3[1], αὐγὴ κα.5[1], ἀχώρητος ιε.6, δυσώπησις ιγ.14, ἐνανθρώπησις ις.2, ἔνσαρκος ζ.2 ἐξίλασμα ε.15, θεοδόχος ε.1[1], θεόληπτος ιε.5[2], θεοφόρος ι.1[1] etc.

A more precise division of the vocabulary results in the following three groups. a) Poetic words (see § 338): ἀγλαόκαρπος ιγ.10[1], ἄρουρα ε.10, εὔκαρπος δ.3,, θὴρ ζ.8, κοσμήτωρ ιη.1[2], κουροτρόφος ιθ.16, νηδὺς δ.3, πολύρρυτος κα.11[1], ποντίζω ια.10[1]. b) Rare Hellenistic words: ἀδαπάνητος κγ.9, δυσανάβατος α.10[1], εὐσκιόφυλλος ιγ.11[1], θεοδρόμος η.1[1], κλεψίγαμος ς.4, νεουργῶ α.16, νυμφοστόλος ιθ.17, πολυθρήνητος γ.13[2], πολύφθογγος (=talkative) ιζ.1[1], πολύφωτος κα.10[1], τεχνολόγος (=teacher of rhetoric) ιζ.9. c) Words which occur for the first time in the Greek language: ἀνοικτήριον (=the key, see *ΙΛΝΕ* and ΛΔ s.v.) ζ.9, ἀπροσμάχητος (seventh century, the word then occuring again in the writings of Andrew of Crete, *Patrologia Graeca*, 97.1108 B, and of Constantine Porphyrogennetus, *Le livre de ceremonies*, ed. A. Vogt, vol. I [Paris, 1967], 55. 13, see *L* and *S* s.v.) prooemium II.4, φωτοδόχος κα.1[1], χρεωλύτης (cf. Romanos 10. ιζ.6[1]) κβ.2.

6. See also *idem*, "The Vocabulary of Romanos the Melodist," *Glotta*, 43 (1965), 171 ff.

Conclusions

From this analysis of the particular fashions of speech of the *Akathistos Hymn* and then their comparison with the corresponding fashions of speech presented by the language of the *kontakia* of Romanos the Melodist, we may assert that a unity of style does exist in these works; and this unity cannot be explained only by the fact that we are dealing with two works belonging to the same period and having the same liturgical character (i.e., that of a poetic sermon). It is a question of identity of means of expression, which obliges us to accept that the anonynous composition must be by the same author as the other *kontakia*, Romanos the Melodist.

We could, certainly, proceed to a statistical comparison of the frequency with which the various linguistic phenomena and elements of style occure in the *kontakia* of Romanos the Melodist on the one hand and in the *Akathistos Hymn* on the other; but the statistical method is considered inappropriate in this case, since the comparison would be between two things unequal in extent, and indeed in frequency of appearance–the corpus of Romanos' fifty-nine genuine *kontakia* and the *Akathistos Hymn*. The numerical data would have a merely indicative nature, and that for each work separately. It must be noted, too, that in liturgical poetry frequencies of this kind are decisively influenced by many external factors, such as metre, melody and sources, that is the patristic texts that provide the doctrinal basis for a *kontakion*.

Institute for Balkan Studies

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Hilarion of Didymoteichon and the Gift of Prophecy

Much attention has lately been paid to the place and function of the holy man in late Roman and early Byzantine society.[1] In the later and darker days of the empire, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the holy man continued to command respect and this not merely because the state of the world seemed so uncertain and the future so bleak. Byzantine hagiographical literature of this age abounds in tales of spiritual athletes and especially of wandering solitaries, whose lives often seem to point the way to the *starets* of later Russian society.[2] Gregory of Sinai (1255-1346) set the pace with his travels around the desert places of Cyprus, Sinai, Crete, Mount Athos and elsewhere before he settled in the remote mountains of southeastern Bulgaria at Paroria in 1325.[3] Among the most spectacular of his contemporaries was Sabas of Vatopedi (died 1349) who spent twenty years wan-

1. See P. R. L. Brown, "The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Roman Society," *Journal of Roman Studies*, 71 (1971), 80-101; *idem*, "A Dark-Age Crisis: Aspects of the Iconoclastic Controversy," *English Historical Review*, 346 (1973), 1-34, esp. pp. 12 f.; *idem*, "Eastern and Western Christendom in Late Antiquity: A Parting of the Ways," in *The Orthodox Churches and the West: Papers Read at the Fourteenth Summer Meeting and the Fifteenth Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. D. Baker, Studies in Church History, 13 (Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1976), pp. 1-24, esp. pp. 12 f.

2. Cf. S. Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity: A Study of the Patriarchate of Constantinople from the Eve of the Turkish Conquest to the Greek War of Independence* (London: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1968), pp. 156-57; and D. Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth: Eastern Europe 500-1453* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971), pp. 301-05.

3. *Life of Gregory of Sinai* by Kallistos I, Patriarch of Constantinople, ed. I. Pomialovskii, *Житие иже во святыхъ отца нашего Григория синаита* (St. Petersburg: *Тип. И. Акад. наукъ*, 1894), pp. 1-46. Cf. J. Bois, "Grégoire le Sinaite et l'hésychasme à l'Athos au XIVe siècle," *Echos d'Orient*, 5 (1901-02), 65-73; J. Meyendorff, *Introduction à l'étude de Grégoire Palamas*, Patristica Sorbonensia, 3 (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1959), pp. 52 f. and *passim*: Obolensky, pp. 301-05. Such wanderings were not always self-inflicted, however. The biographer of St. Romylos (Romil of Vidin) [died 1375], a pupil of Gregory at Paroria, tells how the saint was moved from place to place by the political upheavals of the time as well as by his desire to escape from his admirers. F. Halkin, "Un ermite des Balkans au XIVe siècle. La Vie grecque inédite de Saint Romylos," *Byzantion*, 31 (1961) [= *Hommage à G. Ostrogorsky*], 111-47, esp. 131-32: ". . . μετέβαινε συνεχῶς ἐκ τόπου εἰς τόπον, τὴν σύγχυσιν ἐκκλίνων καὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην δόξαν ἀποσειόμενος. Cf. I. Dujčev, "Un fragment grec de la vie de St. Romile," *Byzantino-slavica*, 7 (1937-38), 124-27; *idem*, *Medioevo bizantino-slavo, Saggi di storia letteraria*, Storia e letteratura, Raccolta di studi e testi, nr. 113 (Roma: Edizioni di Storia e letteratura, 1965-), II, 227-28.

dering in the deserts, hills, and caves of Palestine, Egypt, Cyprus, Crete, and the Peloponnese before coming to rest as a simple monk on Athos.[4] For long periods Sabas pretended to de dumb and conscientiously played the part of the "fool for Christ's sake," like Andreas Salos before him.[5] His recorded miracles were few; his theology was not above suspicion; but his sanctity was undeniable.[6] And at the close of his vagabond career he became the spiritual father of the future Patriarch Philotheos Kokkinos (who wrote his life);[7] he was consulted by a delegation from Thessalonica about the desperate social and political problems of their city;[8] and he only narrowly escaped being ordained and consecrated as Patriarch of Constantinople at the wish of an emperor, John VI Cantacuzene, who set great store by holiness.[9]

Another was Maximos Kavsokalyvites (c. 1270-c. 1365), so-called from his propensity to burn down his *καλύβιον* or hut and move on.[10] His wanderings were confined to the Holy Mountain of Athos, but his fondness for the wilder parts of the mountain and his ascetical prowess earned him the reputation of a second Onouphrios or Peter the Athonite.[11] In his younger days Maximos had tramped the streets of Constantinople barefoot, bareheaded and in rags, acting the fool for Christ's sake, until the word of his "divine madness" reached the ears of the Emperor Andronikos II. He was invited to the palace where he amazed his audience by his ability to recite the Scriptures from memory. The Grand Logothete Theodore Metochites, who disapproved of monastic eccentricity, rudely described Maximos as an illiterate peasant.[12] But he was a frequent guest of the great Patriarch Athanasios I, who shared his passion for asceticism, and had himself in his earlier years led an even

4. *Life of Sabas the Younger*, by Philotheos (Kokkinos), Patriarch of Constantinople, in *Ἀνάλεκτα Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς Σταχυολογίας*, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 5 vols. (St. Petersburg: *ἐκ τοῦ τυπογραφείου Κιρσβάουμ*, 1891-98; rpt., Bruxelles: Culture & Civilization, 1963), V, no. XI, 190-359, and 426-29. Cf. *Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca* [hereafter *BHG*], ed. F. Halkin, 2 vols. in 1, 3rd ed., Subsidia hagiographica, no. 8a (Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes, 1957), no. 1606, p. 227.

5. *Life of Sabas*, pp. 218-21, 227, 230-36, and 292.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 293-97: Philotheos here describes an official investigation of Sabas's theological opinions which ended with the saint writing out a perfectly Orthodox profession of faith. That Sabas was something of a "reluctant Palamite" has been observed by Meyendorff, pp. 106-07.

7. *Life of Sabas*, pp. 301-02.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 326-31.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 340-46.

10. F. Halkin, "Deux Vies de S. Maxime le Kausokalybe ermite au Mont Athos (XIVe s.)," *Analecta Bollandiana*, 54 (1936), 38-112; *BHG*, II, nos. 1236z-1237f, p. 107.

11. Halkin, "Deux Vies," p. 44.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 70-71. The unnamed Grand Logothete "of the *κανικλείου*" is presumably Theodore Metochites. His views on eremitic monasticism are expounded in, e.g., *Θεοδώρου τοῦ Μετοχίτου Ὑπομνηματισμοὶ καὶ σημειώσεις γνωμικαί*, *Miscellanea philosophica et historica*, ed. C. G. Müller and T. Kiessling (Leipzig: sumptibus F. C. G. Vogelii, 1821; rpt., Amsterdam, 1966), pp. 484-91.

more wandering life;[13] and if his biographers are to be believed Maximos, when back in his roofless hut on Mount Athos, was later honored by a personal visit from the two Emperors John Cantacuzene and John V Palaiologos, and also from the Patriarch Kallistos, whose death he predicted.[14]

The pious and learned John, Metropolitan of Herakleia Pontica (c. 1249-1328), uncle and mentor of the polymath Nikephoros Gregoras, was set on the path to sanctity by a chance encounter with "a sort of holy cynic, a Diogenes, feigning madness," who had made his way into the palace without ceremony and naked to the waist to see the Empress Theodora.[15] The ruling class as well as the common people cherished the presence of such holy men, seeking their advice as oracles, but perhaps still more seeking their company as living icons or channels of divine grace. Gregory of Sinai, from his retreat at Paroria, is said to have been consulted and to have given "miraculous instruction" by correspondence to all the reigning emperors of the Byzantine Commonwealth—Andronikos II Palaiologos of Constantinople, Stephen Dušan of Serbia, John Alexander of Bulgaria, and Alexander of Wallachia.[16] Mount Athos was the natural breeding-ground of saints in the later Byzantine Empire. The Lives of Niphon of Athos (1315-1411) and more especially of Germanos the Hagiorite (c. 1252-1336) give a vivid picture of the flourishing hermit life on the mountain in the fourteenth century and of the charismatic quality of some of the individual hesychasts who deliberately lived their solitary lives remote from the bustle and distraction of the great coenobitic monasteries.[17] The blessed Dionysios of Athos, who was later to

13. Halkin, "Deux Vies," p. 72. See the *Lives of Athanasios* by Theoktistos the Studite, *Житія двухъ вселенскихъ патріарховъ* XIV *в., Свв. Аѳанасія и Исидора* I., ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Записки Историкофилологическаго факултета Императорскаго С.-Петербурскаго Университета*, LXXVI (St. Petersburg: *В. Киршбаумъ*, 1905), pp. 1-51; and by Joseph Kalothetos, ed. Athanasios Pantokratorinos, in *Θρᾴκικα*, 13 (1940), 56-107. Cf. Alice-Mary M. Talbot, "The Patriarch Athanasios (1289-1293; 1303-1309) and the Church," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 27 (1973), 11-28, esp. 16-17.

14. Halkin, "Deux Vies," pp. 48 and 94. There is no independent evidence for this alleged visit of the two emperors to Athos, but if true, it must have occurred in the years between 1347 and 1352. The biographers of Maximos here report that the Patriarch Kallistos died by poison, a tale which is reported and confuted by John Cantacuzene, *Historiae*, ed. L. Schopen, 3 vols., Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae (Bonn: impensis E. Weberi, 1828-32), III, 361.

15. John of Herakleia Pontica, in V. Laurent, "La Vie de Jean, Métropolite d'Héraclée du Pont," *Ἀρχεῖον Πόντου*, 6 (1934), 1-67, esp. p. 38, 11. 5-10. Cf. V. Laurent, "La personnalité de Jean d'Héraclée, oncle et précepteur de Nicéphore Grégoras," *Ἑλληνικά*, 3 (1930), 297-315; and *BHG*, III, no. 2188, p. 34.

16. So it is reported in the *Life* of Maximos Kavsokalyvites by Theophanes: see Halkin, "Deux Vies," p. 90.

17. Niphon: F. Halkin, "La Vie de saint Niphon ermite au Mont Athos (XIVe siècle)," *Analecta Bollandiana*, 58 (1940), 5-27. Germanos: P. Joannou, "Vie de S. Germain l'Hagiorite par son contemporain le patriarche Philothée de Constantinople," *Analecta Bollandiana*, 70 (1952), 35-115; cf. V. Laurent, "La Vie de saint Germain l'Hagiorite. Quelques observations," *Revue des études byzantines*, 10 (1952), 113-23.

found his own monastery there, early discovered that the the pursuit of the life of perfection was impossible in a crowded monastery full of monks harassed by the cares and anxieties of ordinary men.[18] John of Herakleia Pontica, although first made a bishop at the age of thirty-four, shut himself up for twelve years in ascetic tranquillity high on a mountain in Bithynia so that he could enjoy the untroubled life of converse with God.[19] Not all of such men were acknowledged hesychasts in the technical sense of that term as it came to be defined in the course of the fourteenth century. They had their visions of the "uncreated light" without troubling to explain them in theological terms. But so far as Byzantine society was concerned they constituted an essential stratosphere of the higher estate of monasticism. They were, as P. Joannou has described them, "en quelque sort des prophètes, des êtres replis de l'esprit de Dieu, des directeurs spirituels, auprès de qui l'on venait puiser le souffle divin, avec qui l'on venait deviser saintement."[20] They had above all the gift of merging things spiritual with things temporal and of communicating across the barrier between the material and the supernatural—"cet art si grec de la causerie surnaturelle."[21]

The ability to predict the future, the gift of prophecy, was only one of the divine talents granted to such holy men. The hagiographers are surprisingly modest about attributing it to their heroes. Among the certainly attested prophets of the fourteenth century the following stand out: the Patriarch Athanasios I;[22] Athanasios of the Meteoron in Thessaly, whose

18. Dionysios: B. Laourdas, "Μητροφάνους, Βίος τοῦ Ὁσίου Διονυσίου τοῦ Ἀθωνίτου," Ἀρχεῖον Πόντου, 21 (1956), 43-79 and 51, 11. 239-44: Τὸ δὲ οὕτω τελείως βιοῦν καὶ ὑψηλῶς μεταξὺ πολλῶν ἀδελφῶν φροντίσιν ὡς ἀνθρώπων εἰκὸς ταραττομένων καὶ μερίμναις ἐπάναγκες, δύσληπτον πάνυ καὶ ἥκιστα ῥᾴδιον. Διὸ καὶ οὗτος, μὴ δυνάμενος καθ' ὃν ἔφημεν τρόπον θεοφιλῆ πολιτεύεσθαι ἐν τῇ πολυανθρωποτάτῃ ταύτῃ μονῇ, ἡσχαλεν, ἐδυσφόρει, ἠνιᾶτο σφοδρῶς.

19. John of Herakleia Pontica, ed. Laurent, pp. 50-52, esp. p. 52, ll. 3-5: αὐτὸς δὲ θορύβων ἐκτὸς ὁμιλῶν διεμεμενήκει Θεῷ, ὀλίγα μὲν τῇ βασιλευούσῃ ἐπιδημῶν, τὰ δὲ πολλὰ πρὸς τὴν ἐκεῖ διατριβῶν ἡσύχιον ἀναχώρησιν.

20. Joannou, "Vie de S. Germain," p. 45.

21. *Ibid.*

22. The most spectacular of Athanasios's prophecies foretold an earthquake in Constantinople in January, 1303, which heralded his own reinstatement on the patriarchal throne. George Pachymeres, *De Michaele et Andronico Palaeologis, libri XIII*, ed. I. Bekker, 2 vols., Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae (Bonn: impensis E. Weberi, 1835), II, 359-62; Nikephoros Gregoras, *Byzantina Historia*, ed. L. Schopen, 3 vols., Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae (Bonn: impensis E. Weberi, 1829), I, 215: μηδὲ γὰρ ἂν βλέπειν τὰ ἐμπροσθεν ἄνευ θειοτέρας ἐλλάμψεως.

predictions included the devastation of Thessalonica by the Turks in 1387;[23] Dionysios of Athos and more especially his friend Dometios, who is described as being διορατικώτατος;[24] Germanos the Hagiorite;[25] Kyprianos of Larissa;[26] Maximos Kavsokalyvites;[27] Niphon of Athos;[28] and Sabas of Vatopedi.[29] To those in high places, concerned with their private careers, the gift of prophecy must have seemed a valuable by-product of sanctity. Only rarely did such influential people record their debt to those with whom they had been privileged to enjoy a "causerie surnaturelle." The authors of saints' lives were usually their disciples, monks who followed the example and the path of humility set by their masters even if that path brought them, willy-nilly, to the patriarchate, as with Philotheos Kokkinos, whose own lowly origins can hardly have marked him out for such distinction.[30] The case of Hilarion of Didymoteichon is therefore of particular interest, for his saintly nature and prophetic gifts led not only to his being celebrated in hagiography but also to his being mentioned in dispatches by a soldier-emperor who was himself to retire into the monastic estate.

23. Life of Athanasios of the Meteoron, ed. N. A. Bees, "Συμβολὴ εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν τῶν μονῶν τῶν Μετεώρων," Βυζαντίς, 1 (1909), 237-60, esp. p. 238, 11. 19-21: . . . οὐδὲ χαρισμάτων ἄμοιρος παρὰ Θεοῦ ἐδείχθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ προγνώσεως καὶ προφητείας μέτεσχεν. Specific examples of his prophecies are given on pp. 238-39. Cf. the later Greek translation of the *Life of Athanasios*, ed. S. P. Lampros, "Συμβολαὶ εἰς τὴν Ἱστορίαν τῶν Μονῶν τῶν Μετεώρων," Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων, 2 (1905), 49-156 (Greek text: pp. 51-87), esp. 84-85. For the various versions of the *Life*, see D. M. Nicol, *Meteora, The Rock Monasteries of Thessaly*, 2nd ed. (London: Variorum Reprints, 1975), pp. 73-76.

24. Dionysios: Laourdas, "Μητροφάνους," p. 56, 11. 418-19, and p. 57, 11. 445-48: . . . ὁ διορατικώτατος ἐκεῖνος ἱερεύς, ὁ ὅσως λέγω Δομέτιος, τῷ ἁγίῳ ἐμπνευσθεὶς πνεύματι καὶ ὥσπερ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ κινηθείς, προφητικῶς πρὸς τὸν θεσπέσιον Διονύσιον ἔφη . . . ; p. 65, 11. 759-60: Οὕτω δὴ καὶ ἀμφότεροι τῷ διορατικῷ ἐκοσμοῦντο οἱ πανόσιοι χαρίσματι.

25. Joannou, pp. 109-10.

26. *Encomium on Kyprianos*, Metropolitan of Larissa (1318-c. 1330), by his successor Antonios (c. 1330-post 1362). *MS. Aedis Christi (Wake MSS.) Oxon., no. 66*, fols. 288[r]-313[v], fol. 309[r]: . . . Ἰτέον δ' αὖθις λοιπόν, ἐπὶ τὰ μετὰ τὴν ἀποβίωσιν τελευθέντα, διὰ τὴν ἀμετρίαν ἃ προφητικῶς ἐδείξε καὶ μετὰ τὴν κοίμησιν ἐτελεύθη καταλιποῦσι. . . . Ταῦτα γὰρ προείρητο τῷ μεγάλῳ, καὶ εἰς ἔργον ἀπέβη τὰ τῶν προρρήσεων. I am indebted for this reference to Dr. Paul Magdalino and his unpublished Oxford D. Phil. Diss. (1976) on *The History of Thessaly, 1266-1393*, where the Oxford MS. of this *Encomium* is transcribed. See also *Cod. Iviron 571*.

27. Halkin, "Deux Vies," pp. 48, 58, and 93-94.

28. *Idem*, "La Vie de saint Niphon," p. 17, § 5; p. 23, § 15; p. 25, § 18; and pp. 26-27, §§ 19-20.

29. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Ἀνάλεκτα Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς Σταχυολογίας, V, 322 and 328.

30. On Philotheos Kokkinos, Patriarch of Constantinople in 1353-54 and again in 1364-76, see H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*, Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, 12 Abt., 2 T., 1 B. (München: Beck, 1959), pp. 725-26; Meyendorff, index s.v. He was born of a Jewish mother and into an unusually humble background.

Hilarion was one of the four prize pupils of an acknowledged master of the spiritual life called Makarios, whose biography was written by Philotheos, Bishop of Selymbria.[31] Makarios came from Sampson between Ephesos and Miletos. After a short marriage arranged by his parents he was ordained deacon and priest and entered one of the monasteries on Mount Latros (his wife became a nun). He then joined the community in the Monastery of Kroitzos on Mount Sipylos in Magnesia.[32] The new waves of Turkish or Turcoman raiders were then beginning to make their first forays towards the coast of Asia Minor. The sudden incursion of the "Ishmaelites" brought panic to the district and Makarios fled to take refuge in Constantinople.[33] This event may be dated to the first decade of the fourteenth century. Magnesia and Sipylos are known to have been incorporated into the emirate of Saruchan by 1313.[34] In Constantinople Makarios was admitted to the Monastery of the Virgin called Kalliou, although he was a welcome guest at various of the other

31. *Life of Makarios* by Philotheos of Selymbria, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Φιλοθέου Σηλυβρίας Βιογραφία Μακαρίου τοῦ ἐξ Ἐφάς (Λόγος εἰς τὸν ὅσιον πατέρα ἡμῶν Μακάριον τὸν πρότερον ἐν Ἐφᾷ. ὕστερον δὲ καὶ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει κατὰ τὴν μονὴν τοῦ Καλλίου ἀσκήσαντα), Ὁ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ἑλληνικος Φιλολογικὸς Σύλλογος, XVII, Παράρτημα (Μαυρογορδάτεως Βιβλιοθήκη [Ἀνέκδοτα Ἑλληνικά . . .]) (Constantinople, 1885-88), pp. 46-59. On Philotheos of Selymbria, see Beck, pp. 776-77; Meyendorff, index s.v. A few of Philotheos's other works survive and he was most probably the author of the still unpublished Διάλογος περὶ θεολογίας δογματικῆς (*Cod. Patm. gr. 366*), a dramatisation of the hesychast controversy in which the parts are played by the leaders of the Palamite and anti-Palamite factions. See esp. G. Mercati, *Notizie di Procoro e Demetrio Cidone, Manuele Caleca e Teodoro Meliteniota, ed altri appunti per la storia della teologia e della letteratura bizantina del secolo XIV*, Studi e Testi, 56 (Vatican: Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 1931), pp. 246-48; M. Jugie, in *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique contenant l'exposé des doctrines de la théologie catholiques* . . . , ed. A. Vacant *et al.*, 18 vols. (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1908-72), XI, 2, cols. 1798-99. Philotheos became Bishop of Selymbria during the second patriarchate of Philotheos Kokkinos (1364-76) and before May, 1366, the date at which he anathematized Nikephoros Gregoras: document in *Acta et Diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*, ed. F. Miklosich and J. Müller, 6 vols. (Vienna: C. Gerold, 1860-90), I, no. CCXIX, 490; cf. Mercati, pp. 247 and 512.

32. *Life of Makarios*, pp. 47A-49A. The monastery called το τοῦ Κρήζου must be the patriarchal monastery known as Krytzos or Kroitzos on Mount Sipylos in Magnesia, whose abbot in 1370 was another Makarios. *Acta et Diplomata*, I, 539; and II, 96. See Hélène Ahrweiler, "L'histoire et la géographie de la région de Smyrne entre les deux occupations turques (1081-1317), particulièrement au XIIIe siècle," *Travaux et Mémoires*, I (1965), 82 (49), 96-98, and 108.

33. *Life of Makarios*, p. 49A-B.

34. P. Wittek, *Das Fürstentum Mentesche. Studie zur Geschichte Westkleinasiens im 13.-15. Jh.*, Istanbuler mitteilungen. . . , Heft 2. (Istanbul: Universum druckeri, 1934), p. 20; P. Lemerle, *L'Emirat d'Aydin, Byzance et l'Occident. Recherches sur 'La geste d'Umur Pacha'*, Bibliothèque byzantin, Etudes, 2 (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1957), pp. 39 and 63-64; S. Vryonis, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1971), pp. 138-39.

city monasteries, among them that of the Savior in Chora, "rebuilt by that paragon of virtues, the Logothete Metochites."[35] His reputation for sanctity attracted people of all ages and classes of society to visit him, among them the Emperor Andronikos II, "that pillar and champion of the faith."[36] Although he is said to have travelled in Thessaly and to have spent some time in the towns and villages of Macedonia, Makarios was not really in the *starets* class. He was endowed with the gift of prophecy; for on one occasion he forewarned the monks at Mandra of an invasion by the "Scythians" which, though unprecedented, duly occurred within the year.[37] But his fame as a holy man seems to have rested not so much upon miracle-working as upon his perfect comprehension of the "true philosophy" and his gift for imparting it to his disciples.

Philotheos of Selymbria, the biographer of Makarios, names four of these disciples: Andreas, Hilarion, Sabas, and Theodoros. Andreas lived with his master for over sixty years, accompanying him wherever he went.[38] Sabas was an uncle of Philotheos who brought up and educated the young man at Dakibyze near Nikomedia after his father's premature death. It was Sabas who eventually tonsured and ordained Philotheos, who was to become Bishop of Selymbria about 1366.[39] The editor of the Life of Makarios conjectured that this Sabas might be identified with the Sabas of Vatopedi (mentioned above), whose biography was written by the Patriarch Philotheos.[40] But this seems to be impossible. Sabas of Vatopedi came from Thessalonica and had no known connection with Asia Minor. His extensive travels took him no nearer to it than Cyprus. Furthermore, he resolutely declined to be ordained as a priest, so that he could never have ordained Philotheos of Selymbria.[41]

About the fourth disciple of the great Makarios, Theodoros, we are given

35. *Life of Makarios*, pp. 49B-50A. On the Monastery of Kalliou, otherwise known as the Monastery of Kyr Antonios, see R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin*, 2nd ed., I: *Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecuménique*, III: *Les églises et les monastères* (Paris: Institut français d'études byzantines, 1953-), pp. 44-46. Philotheos mentions that the monastery had been occupied by the Latins who had destroyed its surrounding walls. Makarios was also invited to the Monasteries of Studios, of St. John the Baptist, and of Bassos, on which last see Janin, pp. 66-67.

36. *Life of Makarios*, p. 51A: . . . *τῆς εὐσεβείας τὸν στύλον καὶ θερμότατον πρόμαχον καὶ φιλορώμαιον αὐτοκράτορα.*

37. *Life of Makarios*, p. 53A-B. This may refer to the Mongol invasion of Thrace described by Cantacuzene, *Historiae*, II, 302-04, and dated to 1342.

38. *Life of Makarios*, p. 54A-B.

39. *Ibid.*, pp. 57B-58A. Philotheos was already Bishop of Selymbria when he anathematized Nikephoros Gregoras in 1366. See above n. 31.

40. *Life of Makarios*, p. 57, n. 2 (Papadopoulos-Kerameus).

41. *Life of Sabas the Younger*, 192 f., 209-15, 305, and 343 f. f.

no biographical details, merely a hint at his virtues.[42] But about the second-named disciple, the "most holy and spiritual" Hilarion, we are told much. Hilarion was brought up by Makarios from childhood presumably in Asia Minor and must have gone with him as his disciple to the Monastery of Kalliou in Constantinople. At the age of thirty he was, on the advice of Makarios, ordained as a priest by the then patriarch. For another thirty years Hilarion lived in monastic obscurity and humility, constantly adding to the sum of his virutes. But he could not for ever hide so great a light under a bushel, and when he was about sixty he was nominated to the Bishopric of Didymoteichon in Thrace. It was normal procedure for a candidate to express or to feign reluctance when offered a bishopric. But Hilarion, because of his unrivalled sanctity, was put under great pressure by the patriarch's synod, by the people, and also by the emperors, the senators and the government. He accepted. But his elevation to the hierarchy did not impede the development of his spiritual life, one of the rewards of which was the gift of prophecy and power to foretell the future.[43]

The date of Hilarion's preferment was probably 1341. The lists of Bishops of Didymoteichon are far from complete.[44] But it is clear that Hilarion's predecessor was one Theodoulos. Seven documents of 1315, 1324, and 1329 bear the name or the signature of Theodoulos as *ὑπέρτιμος* and it must be assumed that he is the anonymous Metropolitan of Didymoteichon mentioned in eight other documents within the same years.[45] The identity of the anonymous holder of the see who was in the patriarch's synod in February, 1340, is less certain, but it was probably Theodoulos.[46] Didymoteichon had been raised to metropolitan status by if not before 1300.[47]

42. *Life of Makarios*, p. 58A.

43. *Ibid.*, p. 55A-B (. . . *χαρίσματος κατηξιώθη προφητικοῦ καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα προϋλεγεν*).

44. See R. Janin in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, ed. A. Baudrillart (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1912-), XIV, cols. 427-29, listing Hilarion in 1341: M. Stamoules, "*Συμβολὴ εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν τῶν ἐκκλησίων τῆς Θράκης. Ἀρχιερεῖς Θράκης*," *Θρᾴκικα*, 14 (1940), 65-213, esp. 106-07, listing: Theodoulos (1315-1329): Hilarion (1340?): Anon. (1340, 1345); Theoleptos (1347-51). Philaretos Bapheidou, "*Πληροφορίαι τινες καὶ σημειώσεις περὶ τῆς πόλεως Διδυμοτείχου*, B': *Κατάλογος ἐπισκόπων καὶ μητροπολίτων τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἐπαρχίας Διδυμοτείχου*," *Γρηγόριος ὁ Παλαμᾶς*, VI (1923), 193-212, esp. 196-97, which omits the name of Hilarion and lists only Theodoulos (1315-29) and Theoleptos (1350).

45. Documents in *Acta et Diplomata*, I, 6, 14, 98, 99, 103, 105, and 146 (naming Theoleptos as Bishop of Didymoteichon); pp. 8, 15, 18, 19, 34, 36, 106-07, and 128 (anonymous Bishop of Didymoteichon). Cf. Janin in *Dictionnaire d'histoire.*

46. *Acta et Diplomata*, I, 195.

47. Beck, p. 174, says that it was so raised by Michael VIII. R. Janin, "La hiérarchie ecclésiastique dans le diocèse de Thrace," *Revue des études byzantines*, 17 (1959), 145, notes that Didymoteichon was certainly a metropolitan see under Andronikos II. Catherine Asdracha, "Les Rhodopes dans la deuxième moitié du XIIIe siècle: Prosopographie," *ibid.*, 31 (1973), 292-93, maintains that it became so shortly before 1261, although the title of Metropolitan of Didymoteichon is not clearly attested in synodal documents until 1285.

As is well known, the city was the headquarters of John Cantacuzene and his supporters during his war against the regency of Anne of Savoy and her son John V Palaiologos in Constantinople between 1341 and 1347. It was there that Cantacuzene was proclaimed emperor on 26 October 1341 and it was there that his wife Eirene heroically held the fort during her husband's sojourn in Serbia and Macedonia in the early years of the war. It is inconceivable that the Bishop of Didymoteichon in those years could have been other than a Cantacuzenist. The "emperors" who are said to have urged Hilarion to accept the see must have been Andronikos III and John Cantacuzene. It is true that the latter had not then claimed the imperial title, but in the minds of his later apologists such as Philotheos of Selymbria he had been co-emperor in authority if not in name for several years before 1341: and, as will be seen, it is evident that Hilarion was personally acquainted with Andronikos III.

Hilarion seems not to have been present at the famous synod of June, 1341, at which Barlaam of Calabria and his works were condemned and the theology of Gregory Palamas was found to be orthodox. It may well be that he had just taken up his appointment in Didymoteichon and was therefore not among the bishops present in the capital. But he had by then an uncommonly well-developed gift of prophecy and, as his biographer says, "he foretold the troubles brought upon the Church by the error and twaddle of Barlaam of Calabria, who blasphemed against the divine light of Christ on Thabor. . . ."[48] Hilarion had also predicted to the day the melancholy event which occurred less than a week after that synod—the death of the Emperor Andronikos III, on 15 June 1341. This forecast he is said to have revealed to John Cantacuzene, whose succession to the throne he also predicted, though not before the empire had suffered terrible disasters and the new emperor himself had endured great dangers.[49]

The fulfillment of these predictions and the events that followed are succinctly told by Philotheos of Selymbria:

> The Empire passed to the most excellent John Cantacuzene, formerly Grand Domestic, a man who surpassed all those of the wealthy, noble, ruling class before him—in wisdom the wise, in courage the brave, in piety the most devout, in prudence the most prudent. For this emperor was so clearly a φιλορώμαιος first and last and so possessed of this spirit that (despite all the difficulties in his way) he neglected no means of furthering the common good, never resting and always vigilant, as Homer recommends for all leaders of men[50] . . . even though no

48. *Life of Makarios*, pp. 56B-57A.
49. *Ibid.*, pp. 55B-56A.
50. Homer, *Il.* II. 24-25.

> little disorder and destruction came about through him because of the struggle for the leadership. But time did not permit him to bring the affairs of the Romans to better state as he had always desired and striven to do. Wherefore in the end, seeking the heavenly kingdom he changed his worldly state, taking the name of Joasaph like his royal namesake of old, and leaving as successor his relative, the most pious and virtuous Emperor John (V), who later on went to see the Pope in Rome to ask for help against his enemies and there declared and declaimed the Holy Symbol of the Fathers in the manner required by the Italians. He is the father of Andronikos (IV) Palaiologos, the Emperor who excels in all virtues . . . and the two together stand out as Emperors readily recognisable above all others. . . .[51]

The mention of John V and his son Andronikos IV in such glowing terms seems to indicate that Philotheos was writing before the year 1373, when Andronikos rebelled against his father. But those like Philotheos who held the name of Cantacuzene in such high esteem were prepared to think the best of Andronikos, for he was after all a grandson of the great φιλορώμαιος John VI, who was still alive in 1373.[52]

Much earlier in his life, at a crucial stage in his ambitious career, John VI had clearly relied upon the saintly company of Hilarion at Didymoteichon, savoring his "causerie surnaturelle" and marvelling at his prophetic powers. John Cantacuzene had an unshakeable belief that his own person was divinely protected. More than once he escaped assassination or death only as the result of divine intervention on his behalf.[53] He was a deeply religious man who, like most of his contemporaries, believed in the possibility of miracles and admired the supernatural gifts granted to the saints, not least that of prophecy. Long after his abdication he penned a note in the margin of one of his own manuscripts naming the three saints whom he had known and whose miraculous powers and prophetic gifts he had witnessed. They were Athanasios, the former Patriarch of Constantinople; the most holy Hilarion, former Bishop of Didymoteichon; and Gabriel, archimandrite of the Monastery of the Pantokrator in Didymoteichon.[54]

51. *Life of Makarios*, p. 56A-B.

52. John was nevertheless to be forced to suffer as a hostage in the hands of his rebellious grandson in 1379. See D. M. Nicol, *The Byzantine Family of Kantakouzenos (Cantacuzenus) ca. 1100-1460, A Genealogical and Prosopographical Study*, Dumbarton Oaks Studies, 11 (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, 1968), p. 91.

53. See Cantacuzene, *Historiae*, II, 378-79, 417-19, 477, and 559.

54. The marginal note in Cantacuzene's own hand is in the MS. of his *Antirrhetika* against Prochoros Kydones (*Cod. Paris. gr. 1247*, fol. 93^{v}), cited by Meyendorff, p. 34, n. 33. The identity of Gabriel of Didymoteichon remains obscure.

Cantacuzene's respect for and trust in Hilarion is amply demonstrated in his own memoirs. He cites many specific instances of the bishop's prophetic talent. "The pronouncements of this bishop on future events," he writes, "were regarded as oracles, not only because he had so many times correctly predicted what would befall, but also because he had worked miracles such as can be wrought only by God or by those whose purity and sublimity of life keeps them closely in touch with him."[55] Hilarion was a little aggrieved to be told of Cantacuzene's proclamation as emperor only on the day after the event. He complained that it would have been more correct to let him know in advance. Now he could only commend the state and its emperor to the protection of God for the future. "To be Emperor of the Romans," he said, "is, as you know, something ordained by God. But the lips of those who eat unripe figs will swell up." This cryptic remark was meant to infer that the new emperor would be beset by many difficulties and dangers. To show whence these dangers impended Hilarion called to mind a vision of the future which he had while Andronikos III was still alive. The message of his vision, which he had recounted to the young Andronikos, was a warning against the machinations of Alexios Apokaukos, whose evil potentialities as a mischief-maker Hilarion had foreseen long before he came to power.[56]

Hilarion did later admit that to begin with he had felt some doubts as to whether Cantacuzene had assumed the purple by or against the will of God. But, having devoted much prayer to the problem, he had been informed by the Holy Spirit that it was indeed God's will that Cantacuzene should be emperor. The information had been revealed to him in no uncertain words. The Lord had said: "It is my wish, my pleasure and my command that John Cantacuzene should rule as Emperor: so let it be."[57] This revelation Hilarion imparted by letter to Apokaukos, telling him that it was God's will that not he but Cantacuzene, the former Grand Domestic and now emperor, should be the guardian of the co-emperor with the sons of the late emperor. Apokaukos should therefore submit and stick to his job as admiral of the fleet, for no good would come to him from opposing the will of God.[58]

Another example of Hilarion's miraculous powers is given in the case of a woman whose husband suspected her, rightly, of adultery and made her submit to trial by fire to prove her innocence. The bishop, whom she consulted in her distress, told her that if she made a full confession and did penance for her misdeeds he would see to it that the red-hot iron did her no harm, which

55. Cantacuzene, *Historiae*, II, 171, 11. 17-22.

56. *Ibid.*, II, 169-71.

57. *Ibid.*, II, 340, 11. 9-17; p. 342, 11. 7-9: . . . ἐκδιδαχθῆναι παρὰ θεοῦ αὐταῖς λέξεσιν· ὡς θέλω, εὐδοκῶ, ὁρίζω βασιλεύειν Ἰωάννην τὸν Καντακουζηνόν, καὶ γενέσθω.

58. *Ibid.*, II, 341, 1. 11-342, 1. 21.

miraculously came about. Such, says Cantacuzene, were the graces of God granted to this man.[59] (This case incidentally raises the problem of the practice of ordeal by fire in Byzantium, which was specifically forbidden as barbarous by the canons of the Church.)[60] It is true that Cantacuzene nowhere in his memoirs names the prophetic Bishop of Didymoteichon. But given his own testimony elsewhere (already cited) it is surely impossible to suppose that he has any other person than Hilarion in mind.[61]

It must have been encouraging for him, as well as for his wife Eirene, to know that in their darkest hours they had a saint and a prophet on their side. When, during Cantacuzene's absence in Serbia in 1342, his garrison at Didymoteichon was under attack by the *προτοστράτωρ* Andronikos Palaiologos, commmander-in-chief of the regency's forces, the bishop (Hilarion) contacted the enemy by letter. He implored Andronikos to desist because he had been assured by the Holy Spirit that Cantacuzene would win in the end.[62] At an earlier stage, when some of the *δῆμος* of Didymoteichon who lived outside the walls tried to follow the example of their neighbors by rebelling against the ruling class, they were driven back and their houses were destroyed. The loyal *δῆμος* within the city then cleared the rubble and

59. *Ibid.*, II, 171, 1. 23-173, 1. 14.

60. Some of the evidence for ordeal by fire in late Byzantine society has been collected by D. J. Geanakoplos, *Emperor Michael Palaeologus and the West 1258-1282: A Study in Byzantine-Latin Relations* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1959), p. 23, n. 28. The practice was denounced as "barbaric," foreign, and contrary to civil as well as ecclesiastical law by the learned canonist Demetrios Chomatianos of Ochrida in the thirteenth century and by his contemporary John Apokaukos, Metropolitan of Naupaktos. Demetrios Chomatianos in *Analecta Sacra Spicilegio Solesmensi Parata*, ed. J. B. Pitra, 7 vols. (Paris: A. Jouby et Roger, 1876-82 and 1891), VII, no. LXXXVII, cols. 389-90: . . . *ἡ τοῦ πεπυρακτωμένου σιδήρου ἐπαφὴ . . . παντάπασιν οὐ μόνον τοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς πολιτικοῖς ἠγνόηται. Τί μεν; ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ ἔθνους ὥρμηται. Τί δε; ὅτι καὶ ὑποπτεύεται. . . . οὐκ ἀναστρέφεται τὸ τοιοῦτον ἔθος παρὰ τῇ πολιτείᾳ Ῥωμαίων.* *Ibid.*, no. CXXVIII, col. 527: *σιδήρου μὲν ἐπαφὴ πεπυρακτωμένου, ὡς βαρβάροις μᾶλλον προσήκουσαν καὶ ἔξω τῶν φιλευσεβῶν νόμων καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν κανόνων οὖσαν, γενέσθαι οὐδόλως ἐπέτρεψε.* John Apokaukos, "*Συνοδικὰ γράμματα Ἰωάννου τοῦ Ἀποκαύκου*," ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Βυζαντίς*, 1 (1909), no. X, 28, 11. 3-7: . . . . *μὴ ἂν ταύτην προσέθετο εἰσοικίσασθαι, εἰ μή γε αὐτῇ σίδηρον πυρακτωθέντα πιάσῃ. Ἀλλ' ἤκουσεν, ὡς νόμος οὗτος βαρβαρικὸς καὶ ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις παντάπασιν ἀγνοούμενος, καὶ πῶς ἐπίσκοπος οἷός τις ἔθος ἐθνικὸν καὶ βάρβαρον ἐπιτρέψειεν;*

61. I cannot therefore accept the statement of G. Weiss, *Joannes Kantakuzenos, Aristokrat, Staatsmann, Kaiser und Mönch, in der Gesellschaftsentwicklung von Byzanz im 14. Jahrhundert*, Schriften zur Geistesgeschichte des östlichen Europa, Bd. 4. (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1969), p. 115, that: "Der Metropolit von Didymoteichos, des 'Hauptquartiers' des Kantakuzenen, mit Namen THEOLEPTOS, machte zwar schon bald nach Beginn des Bürgerkrieges für den neuen Kaiser durch Weissagungen und Briefe politische Propaganda. . . ." Weiss seems to have been unaware of Hilarion's existence. Theoleptos was Hilarion's successor at Didymoteichon.

62. Cantacuzene, *Historiae*, II, 305, 11. 11-22.

planted vegetables in its place. This too Hilarion had foreseen; for when Cantacuzene was preparing his western expedition he had ordered a ditch to be dug all round the walls of Didymoteichon as an added protection. All the people (*κατὰ φατρίας*) had been pressganged into digging, including the clergy who complained to the bishop, evidently on the ground that it was none of their business to assist in the conduct of war. But Hilarion had assured them that their efforts would in fact be of no help in that war, for before very long the district would be given over to growing vegetables.[63]

The city of Didymoteichon was often hard pressed during the first two years of the civil war. When, in desperation, the Empress Eirene called on the help of John Alexander of Bulgaria she found that the Bulgarian army sent to relieve the city had come to stay. It was the bishop who urged the people to hold out, explaining that their hardships were God's way of testing their love for the emperor who would assuredly soon return and reward them for their loyalty. As for the "Mysians" (Bulgarians) he promised that within seven days they would be tumbling over each other to save themselves by flight. The citizens took heart, for they believed in their bishop's powers of prophecy; and once again it was proved that he could read the future better than others could read the past. The miracle occurred when Umur of Aydin arrived in Thrace with his fleet and army and, to the amazement and delight of the people of Didymoteichon, the Bulgarians fled in confusion, as the bishop had foretold.[64]

Hilarion's reassurances about the future sometimes brought comfort to individuals as well. Michael Bryennios, for example, the archon of Pamphilos, had been captured by the rebellious *demos* of that city and sent as a prisoner to Constantinople. He was so ill-treated by his gaolers that a rumor reached Didymoteichon that he had died of his wounds. But the bishop, when asked to break the news to his wife and family, replied that Bryennios was not dead, that he would shortly be released from prison for medical treatment, and that he would die fighting on behalf of the Emperor John Cantacuzene. All of which came to pass. Bryennios did recover, escape and rejoin Cantacuzene, at whose side he later fell fighting against Momčilo in 1344.[65] "Of such grace was (Hilarion) deemed worthy by God that he saw the future as clearly as the present."[66]

Hilarion also predicted a longer than expected lifespan for George Glabas the *σκουτέριος*. Glabas feared that he was going to die before John Canta-

63. *Ibid.*, II, 287, 1. 23-289, 1. 23.

64. *Ibid.*, II, 336, 1. 17-341, 1. 10; p. 344, 1.4 f. Cf. Lemerle, *L'Emirat d'Aydin*, p. 150.

65. Cantacuzene, *Historiae*, II, 343, 1. 2-344, 1. 3.

66. *Ibid.*, II, 344, 11. 3-4: *τοιαύτης ἦν ἐκεῖνος χάριτος ἠξιωμένος παρὰ θεῷ, καὶ τὰ ἐσόμενα ὡς ὁρώμενα προῄδει. Ibid.*, II, 431, 11. 21-24.

cuzene made his triumphant return to Didymoteichon in 1343. He asked the bishop's blessing to set out along the road to meet him. Hilarion told him not to worry because his end was not in sight and foretold that Glabas would certainly see his emperor again and serve him in some capacity before he died.[67] Indeed George Glabas outlived Hilarion, though only by five days. The saintly bishop died probably in the summer of 1344 at the age of nearly sixty-five. His death caused great personal grief to John Cantacuzene who makes special record of it in his memoirs.[68] It was to take another two and a half years for Hilarion's prophecies about the victory of his emperor to be fulfilled. But at the time of his death the tide of fortune was already beginning to turn in Cantacuzene's favor. He himself had no doubt that his ultimate success was due to the workings of divine providence so ably interpreted and confirmed by the Bishop of Didymoteichon.

That Hilarion was a Palamite seems certain enough, although it is nowhere explicitly stated. Philotheos of Selymbria, who made mock of Barlaam and Akindynos and went out of his way to anathematize Nikephoros Gregoras, would hardly have counted him among the prize pupils of Makarios if it had been otherwise. Nor would John Cantacuzene have had such confidence in his predictions. His successor as Bishop of Didymoteichon was Theoleptos. His name is not certainly attested until 1347, when he was among the signatories of the Τόμος which confirmed the condemnation of Barlaam and Akindynos and the vindication of Palamas.[69] It may be that he was appointed by the Patriarch John Kalekas and felt unable to declare his Palamite allegiance until after the victory of John Cantacuzene in February, 1347. An unnamed Bishop of Didymoteichon figures as a member of the patriarch's synod in Constantinople in April, 1345, while the civil war was still in progress, and it is probable that this was Theoleptos.[70] It could certainly not have been Hilarion for he died in the previous year. Theoleptos for good measure also appended his signature and approbation to the Τόμος of 1341;[71] and finally he signed that of the Council of 1351 over which

67. *Ibid.*, II, 401, l. 20-402, l. 8. On Gèorge Glabas *skouterios*, see Weiss, p. 39; R. Guilland, "Préteur du peuple, Skouterios, Protokomes," *Revue des études sud-est européennes*, 7 (1969), 85-86 (rpt. in R. J. Guilland, *Titres et fonctions de l'Empire byzantin* [London: Variorum Reprints, 1976]).

68. Cantacuzene, *Historiae*, II, 426, 11. 15-18.

69. J. Meyendorff, "Le Tome synodal de 1347," *Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta*, 8 (1963), 224, 1. 448 (rpt. in J. Meyendorff, *Byzantine Hesychasm: Historical, Theological and Social Problems* [London: Variorum Reprints, 1974]).

70. *Acta et Diplomata*, I, 242.

71. Mercati, p. 207 (wrongly reading "Theoktistos" for Theoleptos). Cf. Weiss, p. 115, n. 748.

John VI presided.[72]

If the above account is correct Hilarion was Bishop of Didymoteichon for not more than about three years. But from Cantacuzene's incidental statement to the effect that Hilarion was one of the three saints who had most impressed and influenced him we may infer that the two men had known each other since long before 1341. John Cantacuzene's sincerity in the matter of religion and the monastic life has often been questioned, as though his convictions had no deeper roots than politics or self-interest. He may not himself have been of the stuff of which great ascetics were made. Nor was he, as V. Parisot long ago observed, "de la taille de ces géants auquel le monde pardonne leur intrusion, parce que leur intrusion ramène l'ordre, la paix, la gloire, cicatrise les plaies publiques, et ouvre une ère de splendeur et de prospérité."[73] He may have deluded himself about his divine mission. He was inclined to vanity and superstition. But he revered holiness and he believed that the holy man played a vital role in society. To suppose that his trust in a visionary such as Hilarion of Didymoteichon was purely a matter of self-interest, politics, or propaganda would be to misrepresent both the complex personality of the emperor-monk and the complex nature of the society in which he lived.

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72. E. Hönigmann, "Die Unterschriften des Tomos des Jahres 1351," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 47 (1954), 108 and 111. The name of Theoleptos as Bishop of Didymoteichon also appears in a document of September, 1350: *Acta et Diplomata*, I, 300.

73. V. Parisot, *Cantacuzène, homme d'état et historien . . .* (Paris: Joubert, 1845), p. 157.

BYZANTINE STUDIES/ETUDES BYZANTINES, 5, Pts. 1-2 (1978), 201-11.

NICOLAS OIKONOMIDES (Montréal, Canada)

Theodora δέσποινα τῶν Βουλγάρων in a Prostagma *of Michael IX (September 1318)*

In 1948, F. Dölger published for the first time the full text and the photographic reproduction of a Byzantine imperial *prostagma* that is of some interest to the history of Bulgarian-Byzantine relations in the fourteenth century.[1] It is an original document, preserved in the archives of the monastery of Zographou on Mt. Athos. Its contents may be summarised as follows:

To Isaac, protos of the Holy Mountain (l. 1)

The monks of Zographou appeared in front of me and complained that they are despised and harmed by those of the imperial monastery of Lavra because of some fields and vineyards that have lawfully belonged to them for a long time;[2] *for this reason, they had to abandon their monastery. And they asked me to order that this injustice be corrected. (l. 1-9). Being myself well aware of the high moral standards of the Lauriotai, I do not think that these accusations may be true; this is why I do not order an inquiry by a lay judge but refer the whole matter to you. Look into it, together with the abbots of the imperial and other monasteries and use your spiritual power to stop any injustice; for I think it is improper to allow such accusations to be divulgated (l. 9-20). This is why I inform you about these complaints and ask you to examine them and to render a judgement. Let your written and signed decision be handed over to the successful party, who will bring it to me for my information (l. 20-27). Moreover, in the future you will protect Zographou from any injustice, because I have especially granted to this monastery my patronage for the sake of justice as well as for the sake of my dearest daughter, her highness the empress of the Bulgarians. Follow my orders and return the present prostagma to the monks of Zographou (l. 27-32).*

September of the 2nd indiction (l. 32).

1. F. Dölger, *Aus den Schatzkammern des Heiligen Berges, 115 Urkunden und 50 Urkundensiegel aus 10. Jahrhunderten* (München: Münchner Verlag, 1948), Nr. 18 = *idem*, ed., *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches von 565-1453*, 5 vols. (München-Berlin: R. Oldenbourg, 1924-65), IV, Nr. 2795. Short bits and pieces of this document were formerly published, from an incomplete copy, in *Actes de Zographou*, ed. W. Regel, E. Kurtz, and B. Korablev, *Actes de l'Athos*, 4, *Византийский временник*, 13, Приложение 1 (С. Петербург: Тип. И. Академии наук, 1907), Nr. 30.

2. It is not clear from our document which lands were at stake. We should be reminded here that Lavra and Zographou had already quarrelled in the thirteenth century about their adjacent fields in Proavlakas: *Actes de Zographou*, Nr. 7. Cf. *ibid.*, Nr. 52, l. 59, 61, 64; and Nr. 54, l. 40, 41, 44.

This is an authentic document, at the end of which the emperor himself has written with red ink the *menologium*. In spite of some minor gaps in the text which might be completed if one had access to the document itself,[3] the rather banal story, the emperor's instructions and the procedure followed are clear. Yet some problems remain and they will be discussed below.

1. The *addressee* is the well-known *protos* Isaac of Anapausa, who was head of the monastic community of Mt. Athos for at least twenty-nine uninterrupted years; he was elected *protos* sometime between November, 1312 (the *protos* Theophanes was then still in office) and 1316 (first known mention of *protos* Isaac); he still held this office in June, 1345, but he was replaced by Niphon in February, 1347.[4] As Dölger has pointed out, his name, Ἰσαάκ, was written by another scribe after the document was finished, in a blank space left towards the end of the first line. It is obvious that when the *prostagma* was drafted in 1318 or 1333 (these years correspond to a second indiction) there was doubt as to the name of the person who would hold the office of *protos*, when the document, delivered according to common practice to the monks of Zographou, would arrive on Mt. Athos. Such uncertainty would be unthinkable if Isaac, attested as *protos* since 1316, had been appointed for life. So one may wonder whether, already in the first half of the fourteenth century, the *protoi* were appointed for one year only and that their election—or reelection—did not coincide with the beginning of the Byzantine year (1st September) or with the great statutory meeting of the representatives of the monasteries that took place in Karyes every year on the Feast of the Assumption of the Virgin (15 August). We know that yearly appointments of this kind were commonly practiced towards the end of the fourteenth century.[5] On the other hand, starting from the middle of the thirteenth century, we find more and more often monks who signed documents as ex-*protoi*, a situation that can be explained for other reasons, but which invites us to wonder if the appointments of *protoi* were made for a limited time only. Since it happened that our document was issued from somewhere away from Mt. Athos, in the month of September, at about the time when the election of the *protos* should have taken place, one may suppose that the imperial chancery left a blank space when drafting it, in which the name of the new *protos* could be added as soon as it was known—in our

3. Some minor corrections to the Dölger edition may be suggested on the basis of the photographic reproduction of the document: l. 3: ἐπικεκλημέ'νη instead of ἐπικεκλημένου; l. 30: δεσπο[ι]ν[αν] instead of δεσπό[τω]; l. 31: παραδηλοῖ instead of [ὅ]περ δηλοῖ.

4. *Actes du Prôtaton*, ed. Denise Papachryssanthou, *Archives de l'Athos*, 7 (Paris: P. Lethielleux, 1975), pp. 135-37.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 128-29. Cf. *Actes de Dionysiou*, ed. N. Oikonomidès, *Archives de l'Athos*, 4 (Paris: P. Lethielleux, 1968), p. 69.

case, Isaac was reelected[6] and his name was written into a space much larger than was needed, a space that could contain a longer name.

2. The *menologium*. The exact date of our document creates problems. It was issued in September of a second indiction; since it is addressed to the *protos* Isaac, it could correspond to either 1318 or 1333. Dölger has dated it in 1333 because he found that the *menologium* at the end was similar to other known *menologia* of the Emperor Andronicus III Palaeologus, who reigned as main emperor from 1328 to 1341.[7] It must be stressed though that this palaeographical argument is far from being decisive, if one compares the *menologium* of our document to those of the three emperors who reigned during the period under consideration, that is Andronicus II, Michael IX, and Andronicus III Palaeologi. For this purpose we reproduce the following *menologia*:

Page 205. Andronicus II Palaeologus (1282-1328)
(i) *Prostagma* of September, 1321.[8]
(ii) Le Letter to the king of France of May, 1327.[9]
Page 206. Michael IX Palaeologus (1294-1320)
(iii) *Prostagma* of January, 1320.[10]
(iv) *Prostagma* of March, 1320.[11]

6. If this hypothesis was proved, Isaac would have established an unbeatable record of managing to be reelected twenty-nine subsequent times by Greek monks, and that in a period when Mount Athos was deeply divided on theological and political issues. It remains though that Isaac, undoubtedly a very effective administrator, was greatly respected by his contemporaries, to the point where they did not replace him in the three years (1342-45), during which he was kept as a captive in Constantinople. On the contrary, his advice was constantly sought concerning any decision to be taken by the Athonites.

7. Dölger, *Aus den Schatzkammern*, p. 60: "die charakteristische obere Einknickung der ersten Haste des μ, das spitz-zackige untere Ende des ι in μηνί, den Schlußstrich des μ mit dem Akzent, das Indiktionszeichen."

8. F. Dölger, *Facsimiles byzantinischer Kaiserurkunden* (München: Mittel- und neugriechisches Seminar der Universität München, 1931), Nr. 48 = *idem, Regesten*, Nr. 2465.

9. *Idem, Facsimiles*, Nr. 10 = *idem, Regesten*, Nr. 2565. Further *menologia* of Andronicus II are reproduced in *idem, Facsimiles*, Nr. 9; *Actes de Xéropotamou*, ed. J. Bompaire, *Archives de l'Athos*, 3 (Paris: P. Lethielleux, 1964), Nr. 13, 14, 15; V. Mošin-A. Sovre, *Dodatki h Grškim listinam Hilandra*, Supplementa ad Acta graeca Chilandarii (Liubliana, 1948), pl. VI; Dölger, *Aus den Schatzkammern*, Nr. 17; cf. *idem*, Regesten, Nr. 2117, 2176, 2178, 2213, and 2431.

10. Document published in *Actes de Chilandar*, ed. L. Petit-B. Korablev, *Actes de l'Athos*, 5, *Византийский временник*, 17, Приложение 1 (С. Петербург: Тип. И. Академии наук, 1911), Nr. 52 = Dölger, *Regesten*, Nr. 2641 and reproduced (as a *prostagma* of Andronicus II) in G. Ostrogorsky, *Sabrana Dela Georgija Ostrogorskog*, 6 vols., I: *O Vizantijskom Feudalizmu* (Beograd: Prosveta, 1969-1970), pl. 15, opposite p. 241. I am indebted for this information to F. Barišić who is preparing a new edition of the Byzantine documents of Chilandar.

11. Dölger, *Facsimiles*, Nr. 49 = *idem, Regesten*, Nr. 2642. Another truncated *menologium* of Michael IX is reproduced in Dölger, *Aus den Schatzkammern*, Nr. 15 = *idem, Regesten*, Nr. 2628.

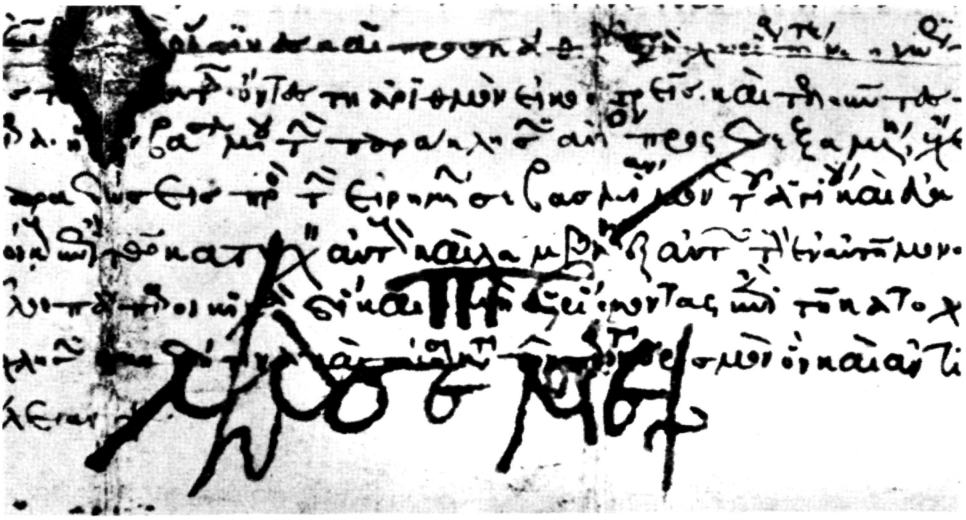
Page 207. Andronicus III Palaeologus (1328-41)
(v) *Chrysoboullon sigillion* of April, 1328.[12]
(vi) *Prostagma* of September, 1328.[13]

Page 208 contains (vii) the *menologium* of the *prostagma* under discussion, which we shall endeavor to attribute to Michael IX and to date to the year 1318; and (viii) another detail of this same document, that will be discussed in part 3 of this note.

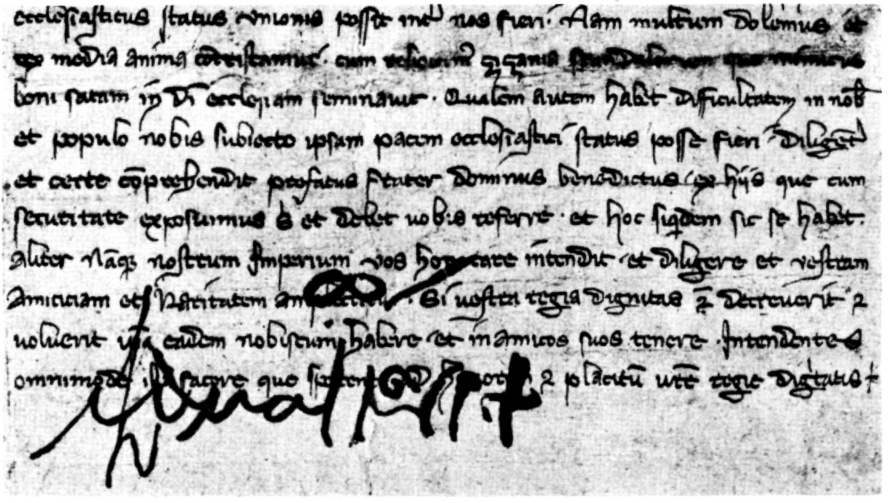
A comparison of our *menologium* with the others reproduced in the plates, shows that: (1) The way that the word μηνὶ is written is very similar to the *menologia* of all three emperors under consideration; but Michael IX has a characteristic manner of uniting the letter ν to the central vertical bar of the *siglum*, and that this detail appears in our document, but not in the *menologia* of Andronicus II or Andronicus III. (2) The *siglum* of the indiction in our document is considerably shorter and wider than the one of Andronicus III; and the curly sign above it is similar to the one of Michael IX. Finally, (3) the word Σεπτεμβρίῳ (especially the letter ε) in our document differs considerably from the manner in which that same word is written by Andronicus II (i) and Andronicus III (vi).

12. *Idem, Facsimiles*, Nr. 43 = idem, *Regesten*, Nr. 2707.

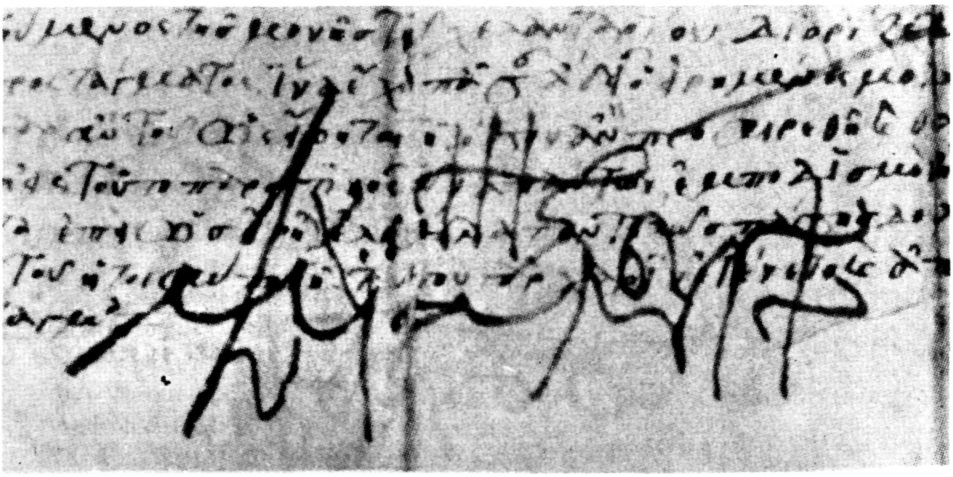
13. *Actes d'Esphigménou*, ed. J. Lefort, *Archives de l'Athos*, 6 (Paris: P. Lethielleux, 1973), Nr. 17 = Dölger, *Regesten*, Nr. 2720. Another *menologium* of Andronicus III from August 1340 is reproduced by Dölger, *Facsimiles*, Nr. 50 = *idem, Regesten*, Nr. 2845.



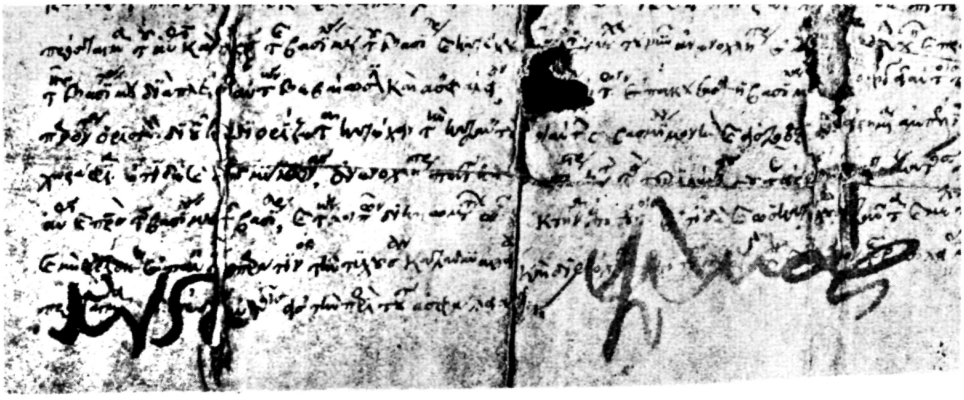
(i) *Prostagma* of Andronicus II Palaeologus (September 1321)



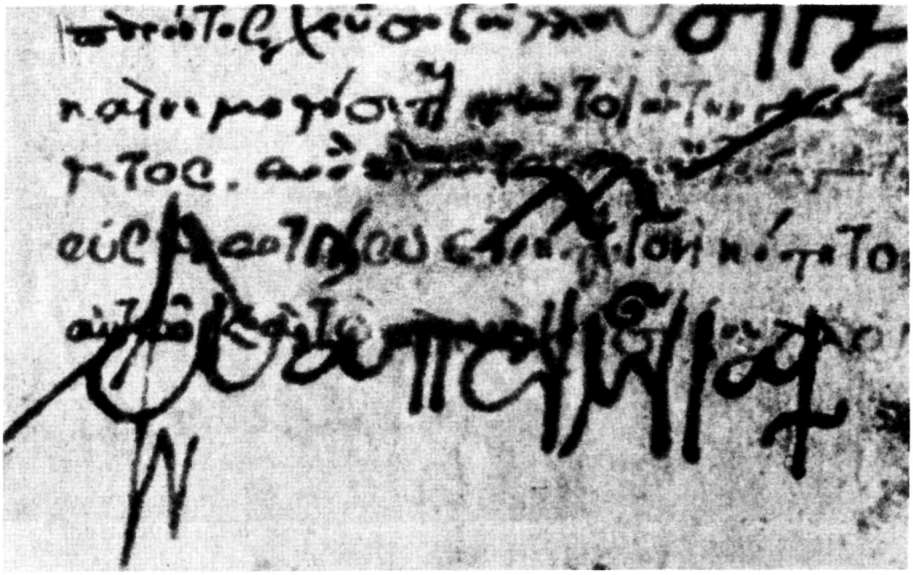
(ii) Letter of Andronicus II Palaeologus (May 1327)



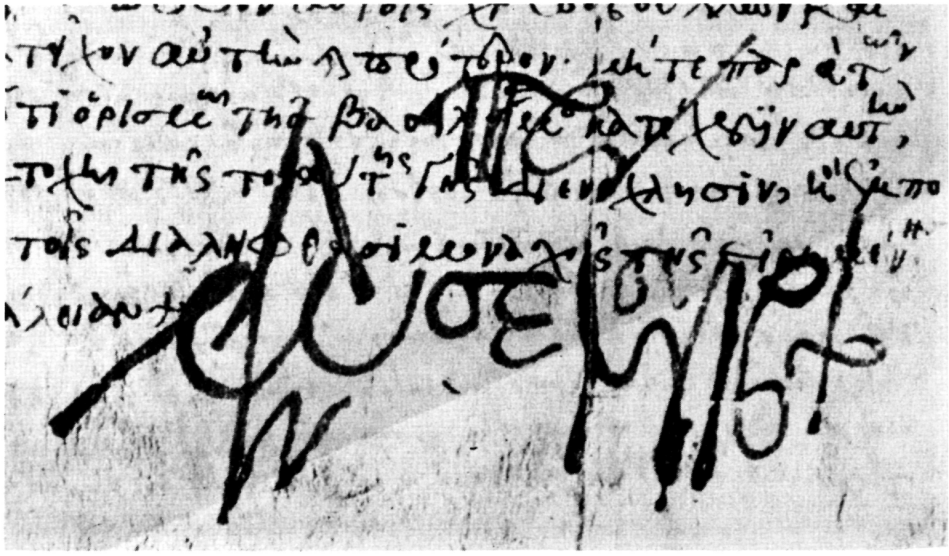
(iii) *Prostagma* of Michael IX Palaeologus (January 1320)



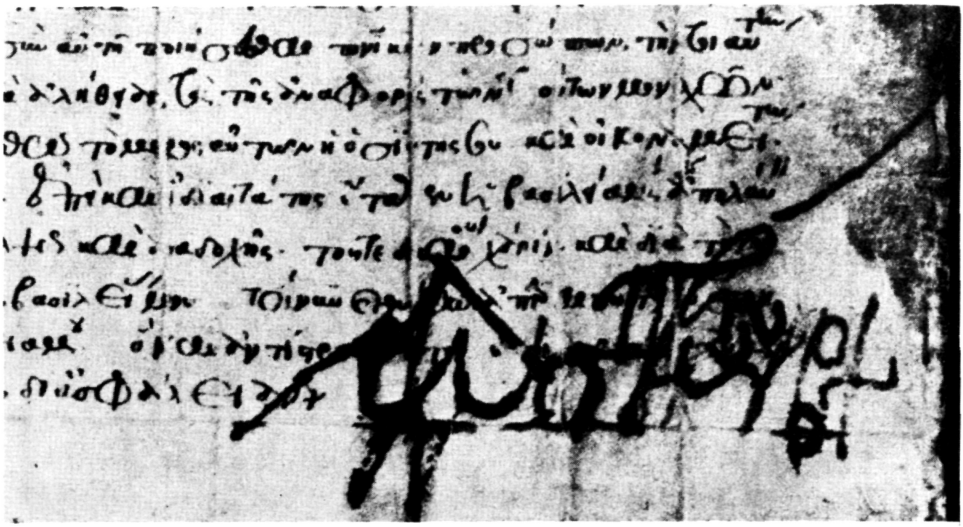
(iv) *Prostagma* of Michael IX Palaeologus (March 1320)



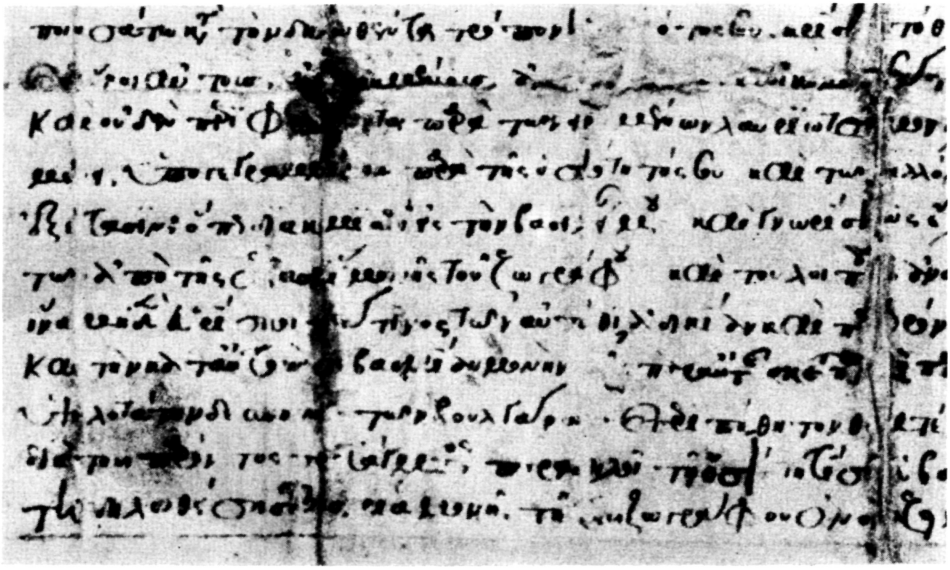
(v) Chrysoboullon sigillion of Andronicus III Palaeologus (April 1328)



(vi) *Prostagma* of Andronicus III Palaeologus (September 1328)



(vii) The *prostagma* that we attribute to Michael IX Palaeologus (September 1318): Menologium



(viii) The same document as above: detail in which the "empress of the Bulgarians" is mentioned

These remarks, and other minor details, seem to show that no conclusive evidence can be drawn from the palaeographical comparison of our *menologium*, which could very well have been written by Andronicus II or Michael IX or Andronicus III. Thus we have to turn to the internal evidence in order to establish the author and the date of our *prostagma*.

3. The *daughter* of the emperor mentioned in l. 30. Dölger read her title as δεσπό[τιν], understood it as meaning the wife (or fiancée) of a *despotes*, and created a whole theory. After the battle of Rosokastron (1332), peace was concluded between Byzantium and Bulgaria, and Tsar Ivan Alexander's son, Michael Asen, was betrothed to a daughter of Andronicus III. Dolger's hypothesis is that our document reflects the situation that prevailed after this peace agreement: Michael Asen would not have been crowned co-emperor, but following the Byzantine pattern, would have first been elevated to the rank of *despotes*, unusual for the Bulgarians, that he would still hold in September, 1333; and his future wife, although still living in Constantinople (their marriage took place in 1336), would have been given the title *despotica Bolgarom*, in order to reinforce the family bonds created by the betrothal of the imperial offsprings.[14]

Yet all this is based on (a) the date (1333) attributed by Dölger to our *prostagma*, a date that, as we have seen, if far from secure; and (b) on the restitution of the word δεσπό[τις] in l. 30. But we know from all the other sources that the wife of a *despotes* was never referred to by the Byzantines as δεσπότις; she was the βασιλισσα.[15] One would expect the Byzantine emperor to use this official term when speaking of his own daughter, rather than the *unicum* created by Dölger's restitution. Moreover, a closer look at the document (p. 8, pl. viii) shows beyond any doubt that the reading has to be corrected to δέσπον .. τῶν Βουλγάρω.; the restitution is all too obvious: δέσπο[ι]να[ν] τῶν Βουλγάρω[ν], that is "the empress of the Bulgarians."

We know of one Byzantine princess who was, in the period under consideration, the empress of the Bulgarians. She was Theodora, the daughter of the Byzantine Emperor Michael IX Palaeologus, who married in 1308 the Bulgarian Tsar Theodore Svetoslav (1300-22), and who stayed in Bulgaria until, in 1330, she entered a Constantinopolitan monastery under the name

14. For the title of despotes in Mediaeval Bulgaria, see B. Ferjančić, *Despoti u Vizantiji i Juznoslovenskim Zemeljama*, Posebna izdanja; knj. 336; Vizantološki Institut; kni. 8 (Beograd: "Naučno delo," 1960, pp. 141-55.

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 25-26. Cf. *Pseudo-Kodinos, Traité des Offices*, ed. J. Verpeaux, Le monde byzantin, 1 (Paris: Centre National de la recherche scientifique, 1966), pp. 257, 287, and 305.

of Theodosia.[16] Since there is no other Bulgarian empress of imperial Byzantine descent in the period under consideration, it becomes obvious that our document cannot but refer to Theodora. Consequently it should be attributed to Michael IX and be dated September, 1318 (before Michael IX's death in 1320).

Michael IX had been proclaimed *basileus* in 1281; on 21 May 1294, he became *basileus autokrator* and was granted all the perogatives of principal emperor, although, in fact, he had always been a co-emperor with his father Andronicus II.[17] He spent long periods of his life away from Constantinople, in charge of provinces that presented particular problems. He died in Thessalonica, where he had been sent in order to supervise political developments in Thessaly and the Epirus, and where he ruled as full emperor, issuing all kinds of imperial documents in which his father Andronicus II is not even mentioned.[18] We do not know exactly when Michael IX established himself in Thessalonica. Gregoras[19] asserts that he went there shortly after the marriage of his son Andronicus III (23 October 1317),[20] because problems had arisen in Thessaly after the death of John II Doukas Angelos (1318).[21] Thus it could be assumed that Michael went to Thessalonica sometime in the fall of 1318. But in this same passage, Gregoras also states that Michael had lived in Thessalonica for one full year before he died (12 October 1320); and, according to this information, his arrival there should be placed in the

16. F. Dölger, "Einiges über Theodora, die Griechin, Zarin der Bulgaren (1308-1330)," *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves*, 9 (1949) = *Παγκαρπεία. Mélanges Henri Grégoire*, 4 vols., Université libre de Bruxelles, Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves, t. 9-12 (Bruxelles: Secretariat des Editions de l'Institut, 1949-53), I, 211-21 = F. Dölger, *Παρασπορά. 30 Aufsätze zur Geschichte, Kultur und Sprache des byzantinischen Reiches* (Ettal: Buch-Kunst-Verlag, 1961), pp. 222-30.

17. B. Ferjančić, "Mihailo IX Paleolog (1277-1320)," *Beogradski Univerzitet. Zbornik Filozofskog Fakulteta*, 12/1: *Spomenica G. Ostrogorskog* (1974), 333-56.

18. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 347 sq.; and Dölger, *Regesten*, IV, 117-23.

19. Nicephorus Gregoras, *Byzantina Historia*, ed. L. Schopen, 3 vols., Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae (Bonn: Impensis E. Weberi, 1829-55), I, 277-78.

20. Date attested in the *Short Chronicle of 1352:* P. Schreiner, *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, 1 Teil: *Einleitung und Text*, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae, Band XII/1 (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1975), p. 76; cf. Angeliki Laïou, *Constantinople and the Latins: The Foreign Policy of Andronicus II, 1282-1328* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1972), p. 252, n. 40.

21. D. Polemis, *The Doukai: A Contribution to Byzantine Prosopography* (London: Univ. of London, The Athlone Press, 1968), p. 98; B. Ferjančić, *Tesalija u XIII i XIV veku*, Vizantološki Institut Srpske Akademije Nauka i Umetnosti. Posebna izdanja, kn. 15 (Beograd: Srpska Akademija Nauka i Umetnosti, 1974), pp. 139, 141-42, 161, and 165-66. He probably died some time before August, 1318, since in this month the Patriarchal Synod of Constantinople was already informed of the wars that were ravaging Thessaly, wars that started as a consequence of his death without a male heir; cf. *Acta et Diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*, ed. Fr. Miklosich and J. Müller, 6 vols. (Wien: C. Gerold, 1860-90), I, 79.

fall of 1319. There is a certain contradiction in Gregoras' text and, lacking other reliable sources, we cannot draw any conclusions.[22] Be that as it may, this is of little importance for our purposes. The readily understandable fact remains that the Bulgarian monks of Zographou who had quarrelled with Lavra, sought the assistance of one of the co-emperors,[23] Michael IX, because he was the father of the Bulgarian empress; and, in September, 1318, they obtained from him a carefully worded *prostagma* referring the whole matter to the *protos* of Mt. Athos.

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22. This question is discussed by Ferjančić, "Mihailo IX," pp. 346-47 and n. 69. Another chronological problem contained in the same passage of Gregoras, is raised by Laïou, p. 230, n. 127.

23. It may be added here that in our document the emperor normally refers to himself as ἡ βασιλεία μου, but that in one instance (1. 14), when speaking of the imperial monasteries of Athos, he uses the expression τῆς βασιλείας ἡμῶν, thus alluding to the existence of co-emperors. Such an expression would not be expected in 1333, since, most probably, Andronicus II had not elevated his son John (V) to the throne by that date: Aikaterine Christophilopoulou, Ἐκλογή, ἀναγόρευσις καὶ στέψις τοῦ Βυζαντινοῦ αὐτοκράτορος (Athinai, 1956), p. 190.

BYZANTINE STUDIES/ETUDES BYZANTINES, 5, Pts. 1-2 (1978), 212-21.

MARCELL RESTLE (München, Bundesrepublik Deutschland)

Beiträge zur Datierung der Porphyr-Sarkophage in Palermo und Monreale

Die Porphyr-Sarkophage des Normennenherrschers Roger II., seiner Tochter Constanze und der beiden Staufer Heinrich VI. und Friedrich II. im Dom zu Palermo sowie der Wilhelms I. im Dom zu Monreale haben immer mehr die Historiker als die Kunsthistoriker beschäftigt. Ihr Dekor ist, mit Ausnahme dessen Friedrichs II., schlicht, auf wenige symbolhafte Elemente beschränkt. Das Material, der kaiserliche Porphyr, bestimmt das Erscheinungsbild sehr viel stärker als ihre Form. Unter diesem Gesichtspunkt ist ihre Versetzung beim Umbau des Palermitaner Domes 1781 aus der unmittelbaren Nähe zum Chor in die entfernteste Kapelle des Gebäudes in der Ecke zwischen West- und Südportal sicher bedauernswert. Die bei der damit verbundenen Öffnung der Sarkophage[1] gemachten Entdeckungen–die wichtigste wohl die Krone der Kaiserin Constanze–haben die Historiker und Regalienforscher mit der unabänderlichen Situation wieder versohnt. Es hat bis zum Jahre 1959 gedauert, bis sich Josef Deér in einer großangelegten Monographie[2] mit den Sarkophagen selbst, diesen bedeutenden Zeugen des abendländischen Mittelalters, eingehend und umfassend auseinandergesetzt hat: die historischen Quellen sind zusammengetragen, die Einordnung der Sarkophage in das Umfeld der mittelalterlichen Grabkunst ist vorgenommen; besonders aber sind hervorgehoben die Bedeutung und die zeremonielle Verwendung des Porphyrs im Mittelalter, die natürlich auch so profane Probleme einschließen, wie die Beschaffung des hochbegehrten Materials, dessen Steinbrüche am Roten Meer in Mittelägypten längst aufgelassen und unzugänglich geworden waren.[3] Deér hat außerdem das gesamte Material herangezogen zu ikonographischen und formvergleichenden Studien, deren Ergebnisse, mit den historischen Nachrichten verglichen oder gar durch sie provoziert zu einer recht sperrigen Chronologie führen: Der Sarkophag Friedrichs II. und der seines Vaters Heinrichs VI. stammten aus der Mitte des 12.

1. Vgl. F. Daniele, *I regali sepolcri del Duomo di Palermo* (Napoli: Nella stamperia del Re, 1784; 2. Aus. 1859.

2. J. Deér, *The Dynastic Porphyry Tombs of the Norman Period in Sicily*, Dumbarton Oaks Studies, 5 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959).

3. Vgl. dazu R. Delbrueck, *Antike Porphyrwerke*, Studien zur spätantiken Kunstgeschichte im Auftrage des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts . . . . , 6 (Berlin: W. De Gruyter & Co., 1932).

Jh. und seien identisch mit den zwei Porphyr-Tumben, die Roger II. 1145 an die Kathedrale von Cefalù gestiftet[4] habe, die später aber nach Palermo abtransportiert worden sind.[5] Die beiden Sarkophage Wilhelms I. in Monreale und der Constanze in Palermo seien dagegen rund 50 Jahre später angefertigte staufische Kopien der beiden Normannensarkophage. Bereits H. M. Schwarz und F. Chalandon[6] haben diese Theorie vorgetragen, die J. Deér auf breiter Basis zu begründen versucht. Seitdem gilt diese Ansicht als verbindlich.[7] Die Einwände von K. Wessel[8] gegen die stilistischen Zuordnungen von Deér haben, soweit ich sehe, keine Nachfolge gefunden, vielleicht deswegen, weil Wessels neuer Vorschlag[9]—der Sarkophag Wilhelms I. in Monreale sei einer der beiden Cefalù-Sarkophage Rogers von 1145 und alle übrigen staufische Schöpfungen—auch nicht stärker zu überzeugen vermochte, da durch die andere Teilung der Gruppe das Problem nur verlagert erscheint.

Die Frage der Datierung scheint in der Tat fast unlösbar. Die Tatsache, daß die zwei Roger-Tumben von Cefalù nach Palermo transportiert worden sind, ist durch die Quellen belegbar[10] und kann schwerlich wegdiskutiert werden. Allerdings verschwinden sie damit auch völlig aus dem Gesichtskreis. Ihre vermutete Verwendung für Heinrich VI. und Friedrich II. würde der sizilianischen Herrschaftsfolge von den Normannen zu den Staufern sichtbaren Ausdruck geben, so daß zu erwarten stünde, die Quellen hätten sich dazu nicht ausgeschwiegen. Wenn Constanze, die Tochter Rogers II., Frau Heinrichs VI. und Mutter Friedrichs II. ebenfalls in einem Porphyr-Sarkophag beigesetzt wird, nicht aber die Gemahlin Friedrichs II. Constanze von Aragon,[11] die sich mit einem antiken Marmor-Sarkophag begnügen mußte, ist

4. R. Pirri, *Sicilia Sacra* (Palermo, 1694; 2. Aus. 1733), S. 800. Dazu auch Daniele, *I regali sepolcri.*

5. Eine Petition der Kleriker von Cefalù bei Pirri.

6. F. Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination Normande en Sicily*, 2 Bände (Paris: Librairie A. Piccard et fils, 1907), II, 730; H. M. Schwarz, "Die Baukunst Kalabriens und Siziliens im Zeitalter der Normannen I," *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, 6 (1942-44), erschienen Wien, 1946, S. 25 f.

7. P. E. Schramm-Fl. Mütherich, *Denkmale der deutschen Könige und Kaiser. Ein Beitrag zur Herrschergeschichte von Karl dem Grossen bis Friedrich II. 768-1250*, Veröffentlichungen des Zentralinstituts für Kunstgeschichte in München, 2 (München: Prestel, 1962), S. 185.

8. K. Wessel, "Besprechung der Arbeit von J. Deér," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 53 (1960), 154-60.

9. *Ibid.*, S. 159.

10. Regest einer Urkunde vom September 1215, *Historia diplomatica Friderici Secondi, sive constitutiones, privilegia, mandata, instrumenta quae supersunt istius imperatoris et filiorum ejus . . .*, hrsg. von J. L. A. Hillard-Breholles, 6 Bände in 11 (Paris: Plon, 1852-61; Auf. Torino: Erasmo, 1963), I, 426 f.: "duorum sarcophagorum porphyreticorum quos ab ecclesia Cephaledensi ad Panormitanam transferri iussit pro sua et patris sui sepultura." Der Versuch scheint schon um 1170 durch Walter von der Mill unternommen worden zu sein.Vgl. Anmerkung 5.In der Literatur gilt gelegentlich bereits dieser Versuch als gelungen, so. O. Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily* (London: Routledge & Paul, 1950), S. 5.

11. Wessel, S. 158. verwechselt offenbar die beiden Constanzen.

das ein Hinweis in dieselbe Richtung. Zu fragen bleibt nur, ob es genugte, die Rechtmäßigkeit der staufischen Herrschaft durch die Verwendung des Porphyrs augenfällig zu machen, oder ob man eine noch tiefere Bedeutungsebene im Auge hatte, indem man die für Roger nach Cefalù gestifteten Sarkophage belegte. Der Beweis dafür dürfte allerdings schwerlich zu erbringen sein.

Gegen das chronologische Auseinanderreißen der Wannen-Sarkophage in eine normannische und eine staufische Gruppe spricht auch die Form des Roger-Grabes mit seinen zusammengesetzten Platten, die als archaische Form keinen rechten Platz innerhalb der Reihe fände, wenn nicht am Anfang. Es müßte nach einer Erklärung gesucht werden, warum man nach der bereits für 1145 postulierten Wannenform später nocheinmal zu der altertümlichen Form des Tegula-Grabes zurückgekehrt wäre, denn als eine notdürftig zusammengeflickte Grablege kann man den zwar schlichten, jedoch formedlen Sarkophag Rogers sicherlich nicht bezeichnen. Hier würde eher überzeugen, daß die Normannen über die verbündeten Frangipani nicht zu solch großen Porphyr-Stücken aus Rom Zugang gehabt hätten, wie später Heinrich VI. oder gar Friedrich II. und wie sie für die aufwendigen Wannen- Sarkophage notwendig waren.

Als noch unwägbarer erweist sich im vorliegenden Fall die stilvergleichende Methode. Diese kann nur dort sinnvoll sein, wo der Stil, die formale Zeitmode keinen zu großen Widerstand am zu formenden Material findet, und gerade dies gilt für den Porphyr nicht. Das spröde, kristallinische Gestein setzt dem Gestaltungswillen des Künstlers enormen Widerstand entgegen und entwickelt fast so etwas wie eine formale Eigengesetzlichkeit, die sich schließlich nur großer und erst nach längerer Beschäftigung mit dem Material zu erwerbender Routine der Steinmetzen beugt. Dieser nicht leicht abzulehnende Sachverhalt macht es schwer zu glauben, der aufwendig und mit aller Raffinesse gearbeitete Sarkophag Friedrichs II. stünde am Anfang der Gruppe, während die einfacheren, mit schlichtem, flächigem Dekor versehenen Sarkophage ans Ende der Reihe gehörten.

Bei dieser komplizierten Sachlage scheint es gegeben, auf einem anderen, simpleren Wege zu einer Entscheidung zu gelangen darüber, ob die vier fraglichen Sarkophage etwa gleichzeitig oder in unterschiedlichen Perioden gearbeitet worden sind. J. Deér ist der Lösung dieses Problems recht nahe gewesen, denn er entdeckte, daß die Wanne Wilhelms I. nicht zylindrisch, sondern konisch gehauen ist und zog daraus den richtigen Schluß, sie sei vermutlich aus einer Spoliensäule gearbeitet.[12] Da ihm—nach Ausweis seiner Maßtabelle im Anhang—offensichtlich nur für den Sarkophag Wilhelms I. Maße von beiden Schmalseiten zur Verfügung standen, hat er diesen Gedan-

12. Deér, *Dynastic Porphyry Tombs*, S. 124.

ken nicht konsequent zu Ende geführt. Fig. 1 zeigt die in diesem Zusammenhang interessierenden Maße aller vier Wannen (in cm).[13] Als Ergebnis der Messungen kann gelten, daß nicht nur die Wanne Wilhelms I., sondern tatsächlich alle vier konische Form besitzen. Außerdem fällt auf, daß die Durchmesser bei keinem der vier Sarkophage gleich sind, sonder sich–in eine Reihe gebracht–fast kontinuierlich verringern von 111,5 cm an der größeren Schmalseite bei Heinrich VI. bis auf 90,5 cm an der kleineren Schmalseite bei Constanze. Gemessen wurde in allen Fällen der größte Durchmesser einschließlich der Profile. Die jetzige Rundung der Wanne kann natürlich nicht der alte Säulenumfang sein, da in jedem Fall die Profillippen der Wannen mit ihrem ionischen Kyma aus dem zur Verfügung stehenden Material, eben dem in Stücke zersägten Säulenschaft, gewonnen werden mußten. Wenn die Wanne auch nach der Umarbeitung ihre von der Säule her rührende konische Form bewahrt hat, so deswegen, weil die Abarbeitung unterhalb der Profile in rundum gleichbleibender Dicke mit einer einfachen Lehre leichter zu bewerkstelligen war als eine vollkommene Egalisierung, die einen komplizierten Ausgleich erfordert hätte. Die jetzige Rundung der Wanne spiegelt also die alte konische Form des Säulenschaftes wieder, die Lippenprofile mit dem ionischen Kyma geben dagegen Aufschlüsse über den alten Durchmesser der Säule (vgl. Fig. 2). Die schrittweise Verringerung der Durchmesser: Heinrich VI., S-Seite: 111,5 cm,[14] N-Seite: 111 cm; Wilhelm I. W-Seite: 106,8 cm, O-Seite: 100 cm; Friedrich II. S-Seite: 100 cm, N-Seite: 97,7 cm; Constanze S-Seite: 91,1 cm, N-Seite: 90,5 cm[15] läßt die Vermutung aufkommen, daß alle vier Sarkophage aus ein und derselben Säule geschnitten sind. Die unterschiedliche Steilheit der konusförmigen Wannen–minimal bei Heinrich VI. und Constanze, größer bei Wilhelm I. und Friedrich II.–fände seine Erklärung in der "Entasis" des Schaftes: Der Sarkophag Heinrichs VI. muß aus dem Fußstück des Säulenschaftes gearbeitet sein, der Constanzes aus dem Kopfabschnitt. Aus den Mittelabschnitten dürften die Sarkophage Wilhelms I. und Friedrichs II. entnommen sein.

Der seltsame, von den übrigen drei abweichende Zuschnitt des Constanze Sarkophages liefert noch ein weiteres Argument: Er ist aus einer Reihe von Stücken zusammengesetzt. Das größte davon ist die Wanne, die aber nur aus etwa einem Drittel des Schaftes gearbeitet ist (gegenüber zwei Drittel bei den übrigen Dreien) und kein Profil besitzt. Die Profile sind bei Constanze auf

13. Der Sarkophag Constanzes ist im Gegensatz zu den drei anderen nicht aus zwei Teilen zusammengesetzt, sondern aus mehreren. Vgl. weiter unten.

14. Die Tabelle Deérs hat 118 cm, was jedoch nach meinen Messungen ein Irrtum sein muß.

15. Der besondere Zuschnitt des Constanze-Sarkophages erfordert zum Vergleich die Wannenbreite. Der Sarkophag Constanzes ist aber vermutlich der einzige der drei, bei dem eine Rundum-Abarbeitung nicht erforderlich war, da ja die Profile auf die seitlichen Wangen zu liegen kamen.

seitwärts beigesetzte Platten gearbeitet (vgl. Fig. 2). Daraus kann geschlossen werden, daß für den Sarkophag Constanzes nur ein Stück des Säulenschaftes zu Verfügung stand, das bestoßen oder teilweise gespalten und nur in einem Drittel noch intakt war. Nun findet sich bei umgestürzten oder umgelegten antiken Säulen sehr häufig das oberste Ende bestoßen bzw. gespalten, da sein Aufprall beim Sturz infolge seines längeren Weges der stärkere ist im Vergleich mit den unteren und mittleren Partien eines Schaftes.

Die aneinander passenden Maße der Wannen Wilhelms I. und Friedrichs II. mit ihrer gegenüber den beiden anderen größeren Steigung[16] können praktisch nur aus einem gemeinsamen, mittleren Schaftstück gearbeitet sein, wodurch jede Möglichkeit entfällt, den Sarkophag Friedrichs II. als einen der früher gearbeiteten Roger-Tumben und den Wilhems I. als spätere, staufische Kopie anzusehen. Der Vorschlaag J. Deérs, der Constanze-Sarkophag sei seiner ikonographischen Eigenheiten–Kamelaukion[17] und Adler–halber ursprünglich für ihren Gemahl Heinrich VI. vorgesehen gewesen, ist demnach auch nicht mehr haltbar. Zusammengestückelt kann er schlecht für Heinrich bestimmt gewesen sein, ist er doch, wie oben gezeigt wurde, aus dem letzten Rest einer Säule und anderen Bruchstücken gearbeitet worden.

Unsere zeitliche Reihung der Sarkophage entsprechend dem Durchmesser des Säulenabschnittes erfährt eine weitere Bestätigung durch die Anpassung des Deckels an die Wanne. Dabei sind zwei Paare zu scheiden: 1. Außerordentlich flache Ausführung des Deckels, bei der die Giebelkante nur knapp außerhalb des Säulenumfanges liegt (Heinrich VI. und Wilhelm I.) mit einer Giebelneigung von 26° (Heinrich VI.) und 30° (Wilhelm I.). 2. Steilere Ausführung (Neigung 32° bei Friedrich II. bzw. 34° bei Constanze), bei der die Firstlinie um Einiges über den Säulenumfang hinausragt bei den beiden anderen Tumben.

Versucht man die bisherigen Fakten zu addieren, so bleibt als Ergebnis: Die vier Porphyr-Sarkophage in Palermo bzw. Monreale scheinen aufgrund ihrer Maße alle aus dem Schaft einer einzigen antiken oder spätantiken Porphyr-Säule gearbeitet zu sein,[18] deren Gesamtmaß etwa 9,5 m umfaßt haben muß bei einem unteren Durchmesser von ca. 112 cm und einem oberen von rund 90 cm. Als Auftraggeber darf Friedrich II. angesehen werden.

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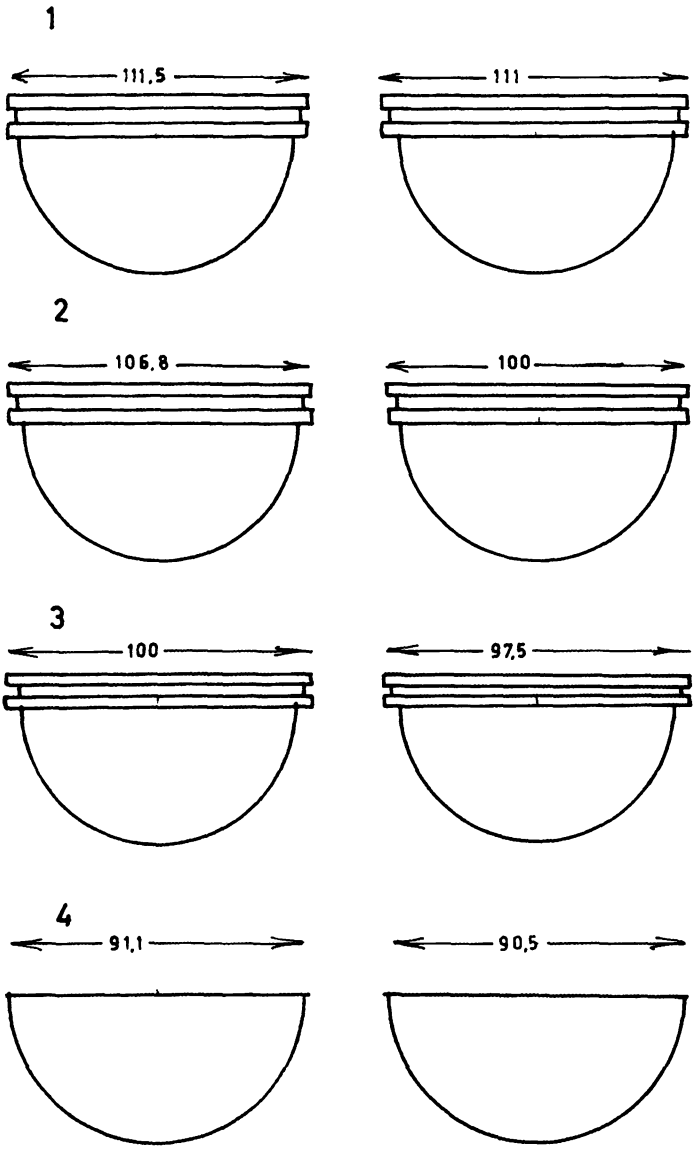
16. Heinrich VI. ca. 0,10%, Wilhelm I. ca. 1, 42%, Friedrich II. ca. 0,48%, Constanze ca. 0,12%.

17. M. Restle, "Zur Entstehung des Kamelaukions," in *Actes du XIIe Congres International d'Etudes Byzantines, Ochride 10-16 septembre, 1961*, 3 Bände (Beograd, 1963-64), II, 555-58; *Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst*, hrsg. von K. Wessel unter Mitwirkung von M. Restle (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1963-), III, 387-97.

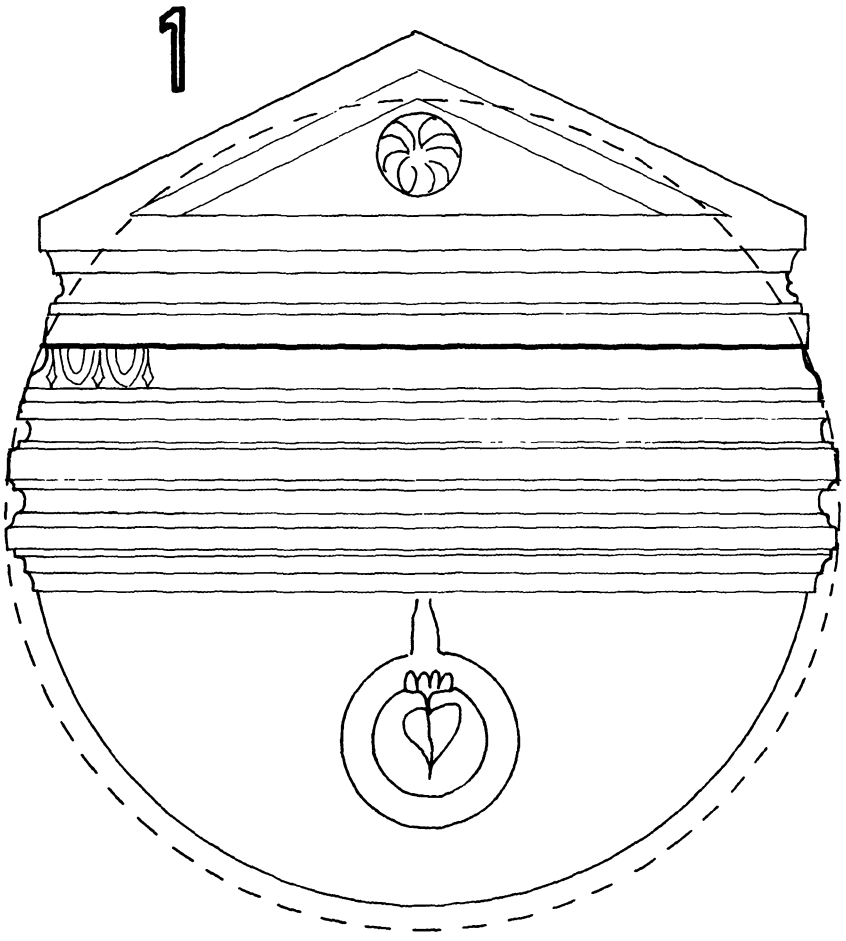
18. Eine mineralogische Untersuchung der Porphyrwannen, die diese These stützen könnte, ist praktisch undurchführbar, da dafür jeweils Stücke einer bestimmten Größe entnommen werden müßten und als Ergebnis höchstens bewiesen werden könnte, daß das Material für alle vier Wannen aus demselben Steinbruch stammt, was im Falle des Porphyrs sowieso bekannt ist.

FIGURE 1



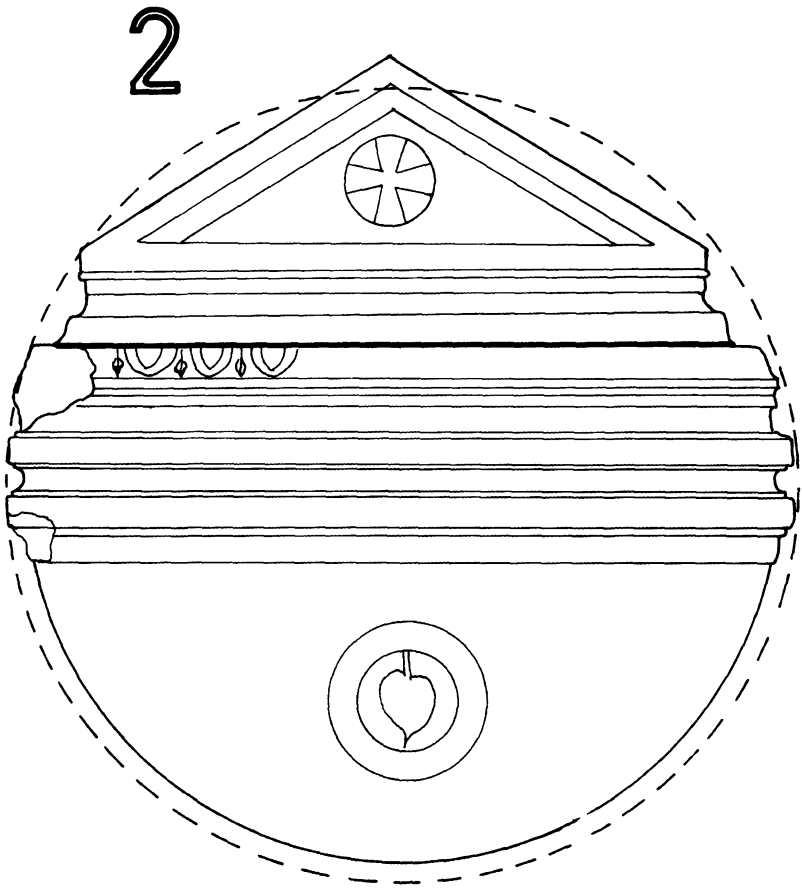
1. Heinrich VI
2. Wilhelm I
3. Friedrich II
4. Constanze

FIGURE 2



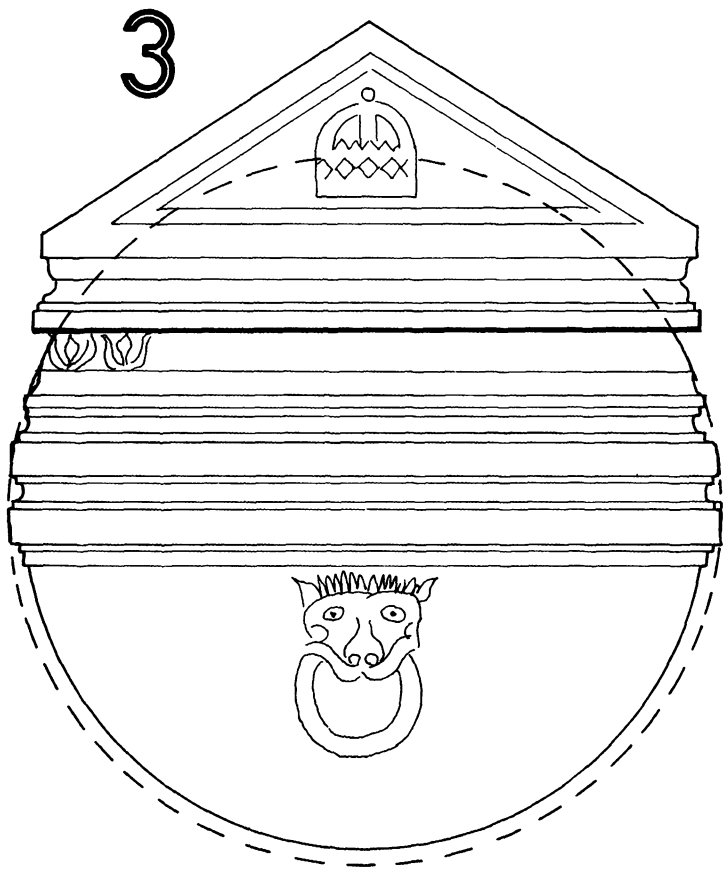
Heinrich VI

FIGURE 2



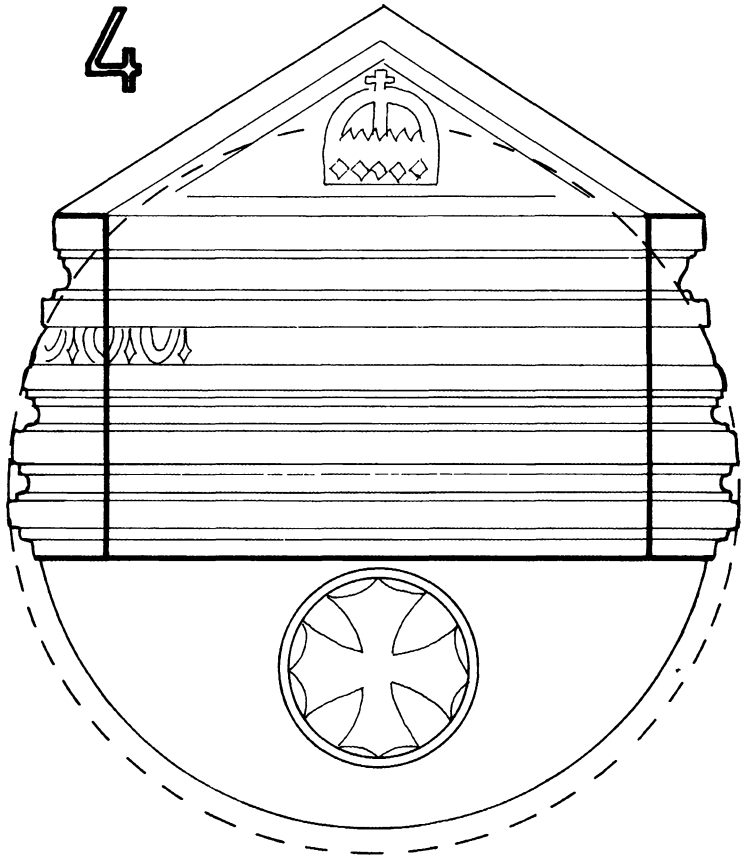
Wilhelm I

FIGURE 2



Friedrich II

FIGURE 2



Constanze

BYZANTINE STUDIES/ETUDES BYZANTINES, 5, Pts. 1-2 (1978), 222-32.

IHOR ŠEVČENKO (Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.)

A New Manuscript of Nicephorus Blemmydes' "Impérial Statue," and of Some Patriarchal Letters

I

The following note records a case of serendipity. A search for Byzantine examples of "oracles with ready answers"[1] led me to a number of Psalter manuscripts, among them the *Sinaiticus Graecus 42*. Gardthausen described this parchment codex *more suo*, that is, in five lines; he designated it—roughly correctly—as *Psalmi cum scholiis* and dated it to the fourteenth century.[2] The subsequent description by Uspenskij-Beneševič was much more satisfactory. Beneševič did recognize that the bulk of our manuscript (fols. 36r-286r) consisted of a Psalter *Commentary* by Nicephorus Blemmydes.[3] Furthermore, he took down the incipits of the letters of resignation (παραίτησις) and of pardon (συγχώρησις) by the Patriarchs of Constantinople Gregory and John, and of one letter by "Sir Athanasius"; he assigned the hand which wrote these letters to the fourteenth century (fols. 29v-32v). Finally, Beneševič noted that in what he called "explanations about how to find the elements of the zodiac" (in fact, instructions on how to determine the position of the sun in a given sign of the zodiac on a given day of the year), enter-

1. The term is borrowed from the title of G. Björck's "Heidnische und christliche Orakel mit fertigen Antworten," *Symbolae Osloenses*, 19 (1939), 86-98. I have in mind a type not discussed in Björck, namely sets of 150 oracles occurring in Psalters. I intend to discuss these Byzantine Psalter oracles and their Slavic derivatives elsewhere.

2. V. Gardthausen, *Catalogus codicum Graecorum Sinaiticorum* (Oxford: e typographeo Clarendoniano, 1886), p. 11.

3. On Blemmydes' Psalter commentaries, cf. A. Heisenberg, *Nicephori Blemmydae Curriculum Vitae et Carmina* (Leipzig: in aedibus B. G. Teubneri, 1896), LXXXIX-XCIV; the profuse but insipid work by V. I. Barvinok, *Никифор Влеммид и его Сочинения* (Kiev: П. Барский, 1911), pp. 180-84; F. I. Uspenskij, „Отзыв о сочинении В. И. Барвинка. . .," *Сборник отчетов о премиях и наградах . . . VII. Отчеты за 1912 год* (Petrograd: Типография Российской Академии Наук, 1918), pp. 111-16, and 118-24; H. I. Bell, "The Commentary on the Psalms by Nicephorus Blemmydes," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 30 (1929-30), 295-300; and G. Mercati, "Il Niceforo della Catena di Daniele Barbaro e il suo Commento del Salterio," *Biblica*, 26 (1945), 153-81. Mercati's is the best treatment, even though he was not aware of Bell's article or of Uspenskij's „Отзыв." Cf. also the good summary in H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*, Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, 12. Abt.: Byzantinisches Handbuch, 2. T., 1. Bd. (München: Beck, 1959), pp. 672-73; and W. Lackner, "Zum Lehrbuch der Physik des Nikephoros Blemmydes," *Byzantinische Forschungen*, 4 (1972), 162-63.

ed at the end of the manuscript by another (?) fourteenth-century hand, there occurred, *exempli gratia*, the date of 15 May 1308 (fol. 292r).[4]

After Beneševič, our *Sinaiticus* seems to have aroused little interest. Rahlfs merely mentioned it among the Psalm Commentaries in his list of Old Testament manuscripts;[5] and Cardinal Mercati established in passing that Blemmydes' *Commentary* contained in the *Sinaiticus* was his earlier, shorter, but complete work, known as Ἐξηγημένον ψαλτήριον, ψαλτήριον ἐξηγημένον–such being the title, for instance, in the *Vaticanus Graecus 683*– or, finally, Σχόλια εἰς τὴν Δαβιτικὴν βίβλον, rather than his later and longer Ἐξήγησις of the Psalter which dealt only with select Psalms.[6]

Beneševič assigned the *Sinaiticus*' main hand–which wrote both Blemmydes' *Commentary* and fols. 11r-28v of the manuscript–to the twelfth-thirteenth centuries. This was too optimistic a dating, given the birthdate of Blemmydes (1197 or 1198), let alone the putative date of the *Commentary* itself (not earlier than 1248);[7] however, the second half or the end of the thirteenth century seems assured as a date for the main hand of the *Sinaiticus*. To begin with, the script itself speaks for such a dating (plates 1 and 2);[8] furthermore, our hand must be earlier than May, 1308, since astronomical instructions containing that date were entered at the end of the *Sinaiticus* by that manuscript's putative owner. Finally, the patriarchal documents on fols. 29v-32v are by a hand which appears to be later than the main hand of our manuscript. The latest of those documents dates from the end of 1302; and at the end of this note I shall give reasons for believing that the entries on fols. 29v-32v were actually made before 1309, possibly even before 1303.

It follows that fols. 11r-28v of the *Sinaiticus*, too, belong to the second half or the end of the thirteenth century. Beneševič could not identify their contents, for, so he stated, they were "without a beginning, since a folio had been cut out."[9] Common sense suggested that the unidentified

4. *Описание греческих рукописей монастыря святой Екатерины на Синае*, ed. V. N. Beneševič, 2 vols. (St. Petersburg: Изд. Имп. Академии Наук, 1911-17), I, 25-27.

5. A. Rahlfs, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testamentes für das Septuaginta-Unternehmen*, Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse. 1914. Beiheft (Berlin: Weidmann, 1914), p. 403. For another brief mention, cf. H. Schneider, "Die biblischen Oden im Mittelalter," *Biblica*, 30 (1949), 494.

6. Mercati, "Il Niceforo," pp. 158-60, esp. 159, n. 3.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 162-65.

8. For similar scripts, cf. A. Turyn, *Codices Graeci Vaticani saeculis XIII et XIV scripti. . . .*, Codices e Vaticanis selecti, Vol. 28 (Vatican: Civitas Vaticana, Ex Bibliotheca Apostolica, 1964), pls. 31 (a. 1273) and 37 (a. 1281-82); *idem, Dated Greek Manuscripts of the Thirteenth* and *Fourteenth Centuries in the Libraries of Italy*, 2 vols. (Urbana-Chicago-London: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1972), II, pls. 61 and 62 (a. 1294/95).

9. Beneševič, I, 26.

text might be by the author of the main piece–especially since both were by the same hand–and a passage on fol. 12[r] about a recent fall of "the Capital City" quickly led to the realization that fols. 11[r]-28[v], starting with ἐγκαλω-δούμενοι and ending with μακαριότητα, corresponded to pp. 10, 3-36, 36 in Kurt Emminger's edition of Nicephorus Blemmydes' Ἀνδριὰς Βασιλικός or "Imperial Statue" and, consequently, that the *Sinaiticus* offered virtually the full text of that Mirror of Princes.[10] The *lacuna* at the beginning corresponds to pp. 8, 1-10, 3 of the Emminger edition, that is, to one folio of the *Sinaiticus;* thus Beneševič was correct in assessing the extent of that manuscript's damage.

The finding of a new manuscript, even a parchment one, for a published late Byzantine text is not in itself a cause for excitement. However, this particular find deserves some attention on account of the poor manuscript tradition of Blemmydes' *opusculum*.

The full text of the "Imperial Statue" as we read it in Emminger–our second and most recent edition–rests on one manuscript only, the *Marcianus Graecus 445*, dating from the late fourteenth-early fifteenth centuries.[11] For the first four-fifths of the text, Emminger also used the *editio princeps* of the "Statue" published by Cardinal Angelo Mai in 1827.[12] Emminger had to rely on Mai's printed text, for the cardinal neglected to identify his own source, except by saying that it was a Vatican manuscript of the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries,[13] and Emminger searched for it in vain.[14] Mai's source

10. K. Emminger, *Studien zu den griechischen Fürstenspiegeln. I. Zum ἀνδριὰς βασιλικός des Nikephoros Blemmydes*, Programm des Königl. Maximilians-Gymnasiums für das Schuljahr 1905-1906, 2 vols. (München, 1906-13). On the contents of the "Imperial Statue," cf. Heisenberg, LXIV-LXVII; Barvinok, pp. 230-99; Uspenskij, pp. 107-11; M. A. Andreeva, *Очерки по культуре Византийскаго двора в XIII веке*, Rozpravy Kral. České Spol. Nauk Tr. Fil. Hist. Jazykozpyt. Nová Řada (VIII), Čis. 3 (Praha: Nákladem Kr. České Spol. Nauk.–Tiskem Dr. Ed. Grégra a Syna v Praze,1927), pp. 9-10; 166-68; and E. Barker, *Social and Political Thought in Byzantium: From Justinian I to the Last Palaeologus* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), pp. 151-59; and, most recently, H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, 12. Abt.: Byzantinisches Handbuch, 5. T. 1. Bd. (München: Beck, 1978), pp. 163-64. On the relation between the original text of Blemmydes' "Statue" and its fourteenth-century "clarifying" paraphrase (or rather "metaphrase"), cf. A. Pignani, "Parafrasi o metafrasi (a proposito della *Statua Regia* di Niceforo Blemmida)?" *Atti dell' Accademia Pontaniana* (Napoli), N.S., 24 (1976), 219-25.

11. For a description, cf., e.g., Emminger, I, 3-4.

12. *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio e Vaticanis codicibus*. ed. A. Mai, 10 vols. (Roma: Typis Vaticanis, 1825-31), II, 655-70 (the text of a fourteenth-century paraphrase of the "Statue," *ibid*., pp. 611-55). Mai's texts were reprinted in Migne's Greek Patrology (see n. 20 below), CXLII, cols. 612-74.

13. *Ibid*., II, 610 and n. 1.

14. Emminger was chided–too severely–for his failure by Heisenberg in the review of the *Studien*; cf. *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 16 (1907), 333.

remained a secret for about 120 years, until Silvio Giuseppe Mercati discovered it in the *Vaticanus Graecus 1764*. As this happened in 1948, some thirty years after Emminger's edition, all Mercati could do in his article was to adduce select examples and to point both to the errors of Mai and to those of Emminger, the latter having been misled both by Mai's mistakes and by his own inexperience.[15]

Since the Mai manuscript, *alias* the *Vaticanus Graecus 1764*, is truncated at the end (it stops with εὔηθες= p. 32, 3 of Emminger's edition), our knowledge of the final fifth of Blemmydes' "Imperial Statue" has rested solely upon the relatively late *Marcianus*. This circumstance alone establishes the value of the *Sinaiticus*.

The *Sinaiticus* does have its weaknesses. It omits whole phrases, mostly on account of the *homoeoteleuton*,[16] skips syllables[17] and commits spelling errors.[18] Still, when we examine that part of the "Imperial Statue" for which we have the texts both of the *Marcianus* and—mostly indirectly—of the *Vaticanus*, we find that in twenty-two passages the *Sinaiticus* is the only one to offer the correct reading.[19] Among those passages, the most interesting is Emminger 16, 25; when emended, it reads as a possible allusion to Emperor John Vatatzes' liaison with the Latin *markezina*, a sin which greatly scandalized Blemmydes.[20] In fifty-seven cases, readings of the *Mar-*

15. S. G. Mercati, "Observations sur le texte de l' Ἀνδριὰς βασιλικός de Nicéphore Blemmydès," *Byzantinoslavica*, 9 (1948), 182-85, reprinted in the same author's *Collectanea Byzantina*, 2 vols. (Bari: Dedalo libri, 1970), I, 538-42. The "Statue" is on fols. 119r-122v of the manuscript. We now have an excellent description of *Vaticanus Graecus 1764* in P. Canart, *Codices Vaticani Graeci, Codices 1745-1962* (Vatican: typis Vaticanis, 1970-), I, 84-89 (cf. also *ibid.*, II, XXXI), who attributes all the hands of our manuscript to the thirteenth century.

16. Examples: Emminger [= E] 13, 3-4 ὢν–θυμός om. *Sinaiticus* [= S]; E 13, 6-7 τὸ–ἡμερον om. S; E 18, 25-26 ὀπτικῷ–ἐπικέχυται om. S: E 23, 23-24 ᾧ–βάξειν om. S; E 28, 14-15 καὶ τύχην–προβάλλεσθαι om. S.

17. Examples: F 17, 6 ἀποκυΐσκεται:ἀποίσκεται S; E 29, 18 ἐγκαταστατέον: ἐγκαταστέον S.

18. Examples: E 14, 5 ἀπευκτέος; E 21, 25 φόλξ; E 24, 12 ἐπειγωγῆς; E 35, 8 πόσης:πόσις S.

19. E 10, 3 δ' ὡς; E 11, 2 πόσους γάρ; E 11, 3 ἑτέρους; E 11, 22 αὐταῖς; E 11, 25 ἐκκεκαῦσθαι; E 12, 2 ἐδεδίεισαν; E 14, 19 τοὺς τῶν; F 14, 20 ἀναπάλλοντας; E 16, 25 αὐτόν; E 16, 25 μηθ' ἧς:μεθ' ἧς S; E 17, 5 ἀπρεπής; E 17, 27 χλευάζεται:χλευάζεται παρὰ τῶν εἰδότων καὶ ταλανίζεται S (V omits παρά); E 19, 3 ἀνεξικακεῖν; E 19, 20 τρισαριστεύς E 20, 12 συνοίσοντος; E 21, 22 γεγεννημένην; E 21, 23 πολυάφορμον; E 23, 11 ἐπί:πῶς S; E 23, 16 οἷον; E 27, 2 Περσικῶν; E 27, 19 πτερόπουν; E 27, 22 ὄπισθεν.

20. In S, the passage reads: ὁ δ' αὐτὸν ἀδικῶν, καὶ μεθ' ἧς ἀσελγαίνει, πῶς δίκαιος; "how can a man be just who does injustice both to himself and to the woman with whom he commits debauchery?" (E. Kurtz, "Zum Fürstenspiegel des Nikephoros Blemmydes," *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher*, 3 (1922), 338, emended this passage as early as 1922). Already Mai, II, 610, n. 1, noted that in his manuscript the "Imperial Statue" was preceded by the *Epistula universalior* in which Blemmydes resorted to a kind of preemptive strike and broadcast the details of his having ejected the *markezina*, whom he called ἀσελγῆ, from his monastery church. Blemmydes' Ἐπιστολὴ καθολικωτέρα

cianus or of the *Vaticanus Graecus 1764* (so far as the latter are known through Mai or S. G. Mercati), relegated by Emminger to the apparatus, are confirmed by the *Sinaiticus* and should be reinstated in the text;[21] finally, in eighteen cases the *Sinaiticus* confirms the conjectures which Edward Kurtz proposed, mostly out of his head, in 1922.[22]

We now turn to the final fifth of the "Imperial Statue," that is, to a section where the Emminger text [= E] is based on the *Marcianus* [= M] alone. Below is the list of thirty passages in which the *Sinaiticus* [= S] offers the correct text. (I shall also quote the conjectures by Kurtz [=K], whenever they are confirmed by our manuscript):

1. E 32, 4-5: πλὴν ἀλλὰ τὴν . . . συντήρησιν ὡδὶ (ὅσιον S) ἐκδέχεσθαι παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ, "but it is an act of piety to expect preservation from God." M presumably has ὀδί which, if correctly deciphered by E, is just a misreading for ὅσι (*ον*).

2. E 32, 18-20: καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ νύκτα καὶ μεθ' ἡμέρας (ἡμέραν S) . . . τὴν . . . ἀπαλλαγὴν ἐξαιτούμενον. Self-evident.

3. E 32, 21-22: ὁ θρασύς . . . ὑπονοστεῖν ἄρχεται περὶ (πνεύματι S) δειλίας ἀποκρουόμενος, "the insolent one [i.e., Sennacherim] began to collapse, beset by the spirit of cowardice." The περὶ of E is a misreading of the abbreviation πνι, which, incidentally, is the reading of M as well.

4. E 32, 25: τούτους ὁ σοφὸς ἀναλεξάμενος ὁ (om. S) βασιλεύς.

5. E 33, 6: τὴν τῶν (om. S) Νινευιτῶν, "Nineveh."

6. E 33, 15: νηστείᾳ καὶ δάκρυσιν αὐτοῦ (αὐτὸν S) ἐξιλεωσάμενος, "having propitiated Him [i.e., God] by fasting and tears." Corrections to 4-6 are self-evident.

7. E 33, 16-17: πρὸς ἀντιπαράταξιν ἔρχεται, πάσης τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐν ἐπιθειασμοῖς προηγουμένων τῶν Νινευιτῶν (λευιτῶν S), "he [i.e., King

was published five times: twice by Allatius, in 1648 and 1651; in Book 3, pp. 103-06 of Blemmydes' *Works* edited by Dorotheos Boulismas and printed at the expense of Chatzi Nikos of Joannina in Leipzig in 1784; by Bekker in the *Bonn Corpus* edition of Akropolites in 1836; and by J. P. Migne in *Patrologiae cursus completus, series Graeca*, 161 vols. (Paris: J.-P. Migne, 1857-66), CXLII, cols. 606-09; all editions go back to Allatius; in none of them is there reference to the letter's manuscript source, apparently *Vaticanus Graecus 1764.*

21. These are the cases in Emminger: 10, 14; 10, 15: 10, 17; 10, 22; 11, 5; 11, 26; 12, 1; 12, 20; 13, 3; 13, 5; 13, 12; 13, 17; 13, 26; 14, 10; 15, 18; 15, 21; 15, 23; 16, 2; 16, 16 (twice); 16, 19; 17, 11: 17, 14; 17, 23; 17, 27; 18, 27; 18, 28; 19, 4 (twice); 19, 7; 19, 9; 19, 12; 19, 26 (twice); 20, 1; 21, 6; 21, 11; 22, 4; 22, 11; 22, 15; 22, 20; 22, 21; 23, 3; 23, 6; 23, 10; 23, 16; 24, 24; 25, 17; 25, 18; 25, 25; 26, 13; 26, 23; 28, 2; 28, 26; 31, 2; and 31, 19.

22. Kurz, pp. 337-40. The cases are Emminger: 10, 15; 11, 25; 12, 1; 15, 21; 16, 16; 16, 25 (twice); 19, 4: 19, 20; 20, 12; 22, 11; 22, 20; 23, 6; 23, 16; 23, 17; 24, 24; 28, 2: and 31, 19.

Iosaphat] went out to battle, while supplicating priests marched ahead of the whole army." This passage is a reminiscence of II *Paralip.* 20, 19-21, where the word Λευῖται does occur. Νινευιτῶν, which makes no sense here, may have been influenced by the earlier occurence of this word in E 33, 6.

8. E 33, 23-24: τοῦ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων καταπεσόντος ἐσμοῦ καὶ σκυλευθέντες (σκυλευθέντος S) ἐν ἡμέραις τρισὶν (τρισί S). Cf. II *Paralip.* 20, 25.

9. E 34, 1-2: τοὺς ὑπεναντίους φοβουμένους (φεβομένους S) ἐπάτασσεν.

10. E 34, 15: τὰ εὐεργήματα (εὐεργετήματα S).

11. E 34, 16: τὰς τοῦ δεσπότου τρίβους ἐκκλίνουσι καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν (αὐτοῦ S) κατολιγοροῦσι θεσμῶν, ". . . disregard His [i.e., God's] Laws."

12. E 34, 20: μάχαι τε (καὶ add.S) σφαγαί.

13. E 34, 22: διαστρεβλονήτων *vox nullius:* διαστρεβλούντων MS, confirming K's conjecture. Corrections in 8-13 are self-evident.

14-15. E 34, 25-27: τὰ δ' ἐν ἑτέροις (ὑστέροις S) δικαιωτήρια καὶ πολλῷ τῶν εἰρημένων ἀνιαρώτερα καὶ μονιμώτερα (μονιμώτατα S), τὸ δὲ χείριστον, "but the punishments that come later [i.e., in afterlife] are much more vexing than those already mentioned [i.e., punishments suffered on earth]; what is worse, they are to endure forever."

16. E 35, 2: ποῖος (ποῖον MS) ἀκήκοεν οὖς.

17. E 35, 3: ἀνενόητος (ἀνεννόητος S). Corrections in 16-17 are self-evident.

18. E 35, 7: ἀδοξίαν μετὰ καὶ τῶν ἀφορήτων ἀλγησύνην (*vox nullius*; ἀλγηδόνων S) ἐκείνων, "disgrace coupled with those unbearable sufferings." S confirms K's conjecture.

19. E 35, 9: τὴν ἀηδίαν πλείονα τοῦ δοκοῦντος ἡδέως (ἡδέος S) εὑρήσει τις, "one will find that unpleasantness exceeds the apparent pleasure." Correction is self-evident, and was made by K.

20. E 35, 19-20: παντὸς ἐκ γῆς φωνοῦντος οὐκ ὀθεῖται (ὄθεται MS), <a man victorious over the passions> "heeds no one clamoring from the earth <below>." S confirms K's conjecture.

21. E 35, 29-36, 1: Φίλιππος . . . ἐνεδίφησε (ἀνεδίφησε S) τὸ δι' ὅ.

22. E 36, 1: πεπλούτηκεν: πεπλούτικεν MS. Correction made by K.

23. E 36, 6: σωφρονεστέον (σωφρονιστέων [*sic*] S) τὸν πλημμελήσαντα.

24. E 36, 6-7: πολλοὶ γὰρ περὶ (παρά S) τῶν ῥαδιουργίας τεχναζομένων ἠδίκηνται. Corrections in 20-22 are self-evident.

25-26. E 36, 20-22: ἀλλὰ τούτων . . . συνεισρευσάντων καὶ μὴ παρασυράντων (συμπαρασυράντων S) τὸν δικαστήν, τὸ πάγιον . . . τῆς αὐτοῦ διανοίας . . . καὶ οὕτως (ὄντως MS) ἀνδρικὸν . . . ἀποδείκνυται, "but when these things creep in and <yet> do not sway the judge, this is a proof of his steadfast and truly manly mind."

27-28. E 36, 24-26: καὶ ὃς . . . προσδεδεγμένος εὐμενῶς, ἅμα δὲ καὶ περὶ (παρά S) τῶν ὀλβιωτέρων εἰσπέπραχε (εἰσπεπραχώς MS) τὰ μείζω, "but he [i.e., Emperor Theodore II] who received <it, i.e., the present work>

with benevolence, and on the other hand had obtained better things as his due from more fortunate people."

29. E 36, 29: καρτερούς καὶ ἀνυποστάκτους (*vox nullius*; ἀνυστάκτους S) φυλακτῆρας ἐπιστησάμενος, "having set up mighty and vigilant guardians." K's conjecture ἀνυποστάτους "irresistible," is neat, but not necessary, for ἀνύστακτος belongs to Blemmydes' vocabulary: cf. his consolatory letter in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 10 (1901), 420, lines 75, 78 and 87.

30. E 36, 35: εὐδαιμονίαν . . . καὶ τὴν ταύτην (ταύτη S) κεκληρωμένην μακαριότητα. Self-evident.

With the identity of Cardinal Mai's *Vaticanus* established and the *Sinaiticus* now in evidence, we are well equpped for a new edition of the "Imperial Statue." The new text would deserve a translation and a commentary as well, for the "Statue," whose tortuous style is not easy to comprehend, is as unusual among the run-of-the-mill Byzantine Mirrors of Princes, as its neurotic and gifted author is among his Byzantine colleagues.[23]

II

Fols. 29v-32v of the *Sinaiticus* contain several patriarchal letters of resignation and pardon. All these texts are easily identifiable. The first of them, "The Resignation of Patriarch Sir Gregory (fols. 29v-30r), stems from Gregory II of Cyprus (1283-89) and dates from June, 1289, cf. the *Regestes* by Father Laurent, nr. 1517. Its text has been preserved in the *History* of Pachymeres, 130, 16-131, 23, Bonn and in the *Mutinensis 82.*[24]

The second text, "The Resignation of Sir John the Patriarch" (fol. 30r-30v) stems from John XII Kosmas (1294-1303) and dates from July 1302, cf. the *Regestes* by Laurent, nr. 1583. Its text, too, is in Pachymeres' *History*, 342, 4-343, 11, Bonn.

The third entry, "The Pardon by the Same Sir John the Patriarch," is by John XII again, dates from the end of 1302, cf. the *Regestes* by Laurent nr. 1585, and has survived in Pachymeres' *History*, 381, 4-382, 17 Bonn.

Finally, the author of the fourth letter, "Sir Athanasius" (fols. 31v-32v) is Patriarch Athanasius I (ruled twice: 1289-93: 1303-09); like the preceding document, this one, too, is a letter of pardon, cf., e.g., the *Regestes* by Laurent, Appendix, nr. 2, p. 567; and the edition of Athanasius' *Correspon-*

23. Barker, pp. 154-59, translated excerpts from the paraphrase, not the original, of Ἀνδριὰς βασιλικός. The new edition of the "Statue" will be undertaken as a seminar exercise at Harvard. A. Pignani, "Parafrasi," p. 219, n. 1, too, advocates a definitive edition of the "Statue."

24. *Les Regestes des actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople*, ed. V. Laurent, 2e éd. revue et corrigeé (Paris: Institut français d'études byzantines, 1971-), I, fasc. IV. On Gregory's letter in the Modena manuscript, cf. W. Lameere, *La tradition manuscrite de la correspondance de Grégoire de Cluypone.* . . . (Bruxelles-Rome, 1937), pp. 24, 203, 212, 218, 220.

dence by Talbot, pp. xx-xxi.[25] It dates from September 1297, a period between Athanasius' two patriarchates, and is quoted *in extenso* in Pachymeres' *History*, 254, 5-256, 20 Bonn.

Since all four patriarchal letters of the *Sinaiticus* reappear in Pachymeres, it might be argued that they got into the manuscript from his *History*. Under such assumption, there would be no connection between the date of the latest letter (1302) and the date of fols. 29^{v}-32^{v} of our manuscript. The absence from the *Sinaiticus* of Athanasius I' letter announcing his second resignation (September 1309), would be due to the fact that Pachymeres could not have recorded it, since his *History* ends in 1307.

Two considerations make me reject such an assumption. First, the *Sinaiticus* does not contain any of the three letters which Athanasius I issued in connection with his first resignation (October 1293), cf. the *Regestes* by Laurent, nrs. 1553, 1554, 1556. Now, all three are reproduced in Pachymeres' *History*.[26] If the scribe of the *Sinaiticus* was copying from Pachymeres, why did he overlook documents constituting the necessary background for Athanasius' letter of pardon of 1297, a text which he did include?

In the second place, a number of readings in the *Sinaiticus* show that it is independent from at least the printed text of Pachymeres' *History* [=P]. Thus, to limit ourselves to the letter of 1297 alone, we have *πολλοῖς καὶ πειρασμοῖς* P 254, 5: *πολλαῖς θλίψεσι, πολλοῖς καὶ πικρασμοῖς* S; *κρίσεως* P 255, 2: *ἐκείνου κρίσεως* S; *καί* P 255, 12: om. S *recte*; *ἕτερος* P 255, 14: *ἕτερον* S *recte*; *γοῦν* P 256, 3: *δ' οὖν* S *recte*; *τι* P 256, 11: *τινι* S *recte*; *ἦν δὲ καὶ τοῖς γράμμασιν ὑποσήμανσις αὕτη* P 256, 18-19: *ἡ ἐνοῦσα τῷ γράμματι ὑπογραφή* S.

At the risk of being contradicted by the apparatus of the forthcoming critical edition of Pachymeres,[27] I conclude that copies of patriarchal letters

25. *The Correspondence of Athanasius I: Letters to the Emperor Andronicus II, Members of the Imperial Family, and Officials*, ed. and trans. Alice-Mary Maffry-Talbot, Corpus fontium historiae Byzantinae, vol. 7, Dumbarton Oaks Texts, 3 (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, Trustees for Harvard University, 1975).

26. 169, 20-173, 12; 173, 20-174, 16; 175, 16-176, 8 Bonn.

27. To diminish that risk, I turned to Father Albert Failler who is preparing an edition of Pachymeres on the basis of the papers left by the late Father Vitalien Laurent. Father Failler kindly collated the four letters of the *Sinaiticus* with the corresponding texts in the three relevant Pachymeres manuscripts (A = *Monacensis Graecus 442*; B = *Barberinianus Graecus 199*; C = *Barberinianus Graecus 204*; other manuscripts of Pachymeres are *apographa* of ABC, cf. V. Laurent in *Byzantion*, 5 [1929-30], 129-96, esp. 192-96). The collation convinced me that the *Sinaiticus* has a correct reading in at least two passages (254, 5 *πικρασμοῖς*; and 256, 3: *δ' οὖν*). For the rest, writes Father Failler, "votre manuscrit semble se rattacher assez clairement à la famille C . . . mais pas toujours." (Letter of 17 August 1977). This last remark alone strongly suggests that the *Sinaiticus* does not depend on Pachymeres.

in the *Sinaiticus* are independent witnesses.[28] I further suggest that they were entered into our manuscript previous to the date of 15 May 1308, mentioned by its owner on fol. 292r; this would explain why Athanasius' second letter of resignation–September 1309–is absent from the *Sinaiticus*. It is even likely that the modest formula, "By Sir Athanasius" in the inscription of the document of 1297 is due not to the fact that Athanasius was not patriarch in 1297, but to the fact that he was not patriarch at the time of the writing in the *Sinaiticus*; in other words, the patriarchal letters may have been entered into that manuscript prior to 1303, the first year of Athanasius' second patriarchate. A final conclusion: judging by the letters of the *Sinaiticus*, Pachymeres was a reliable copyist of official documents of the Great Church.

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28. Laurent did not use our *Sinaiticus* in his *Regestes* and Professor Talbot did not include it into her list of "other manuscripts" containing texts by Athanasius I, cf. *The Correspondence*, pp. XL-XLI.

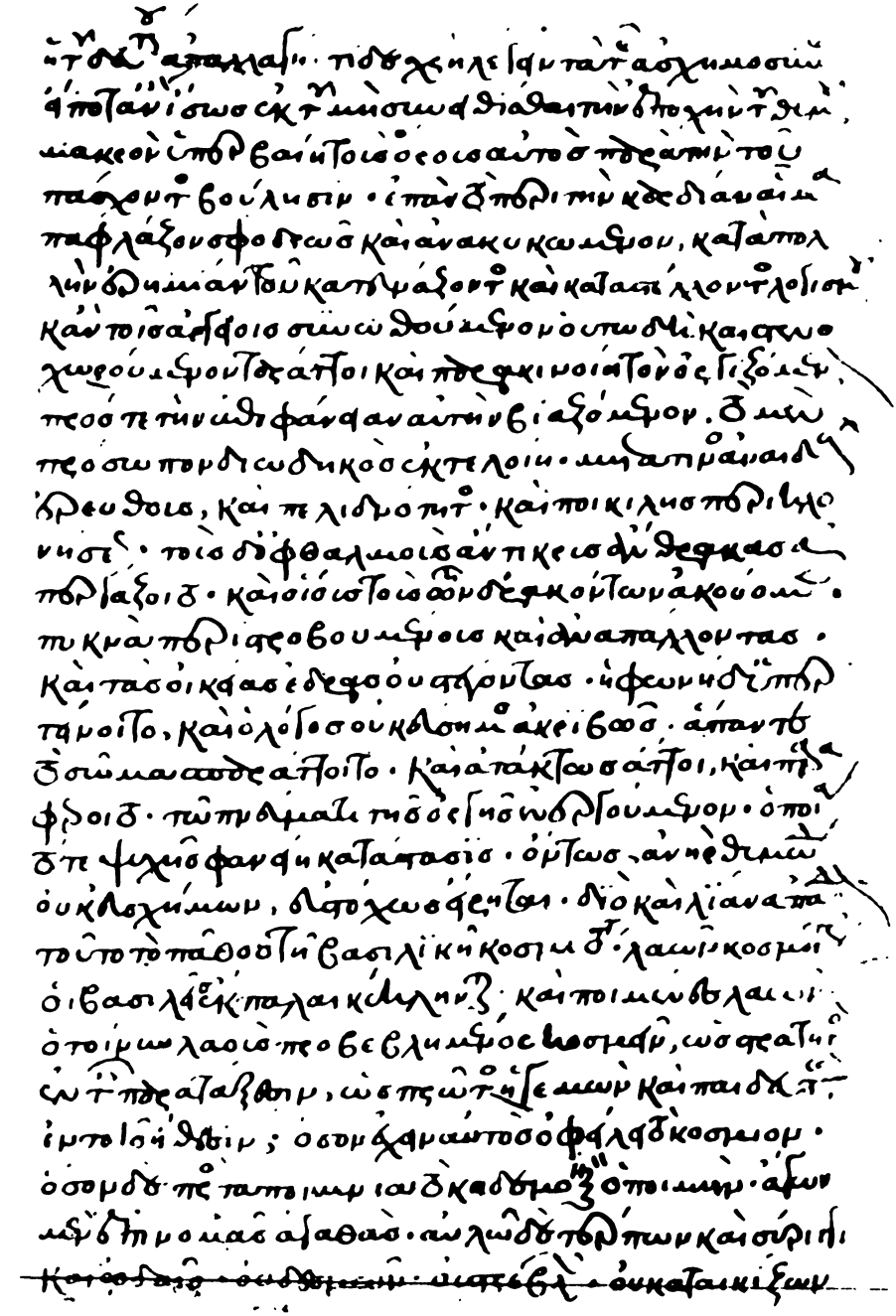

Plate 1. *Sinaiticus Graecus* 42, fol. 13^{v}, Nicephorus Blemmydes, *Imperial Statue* (Library of Congress).

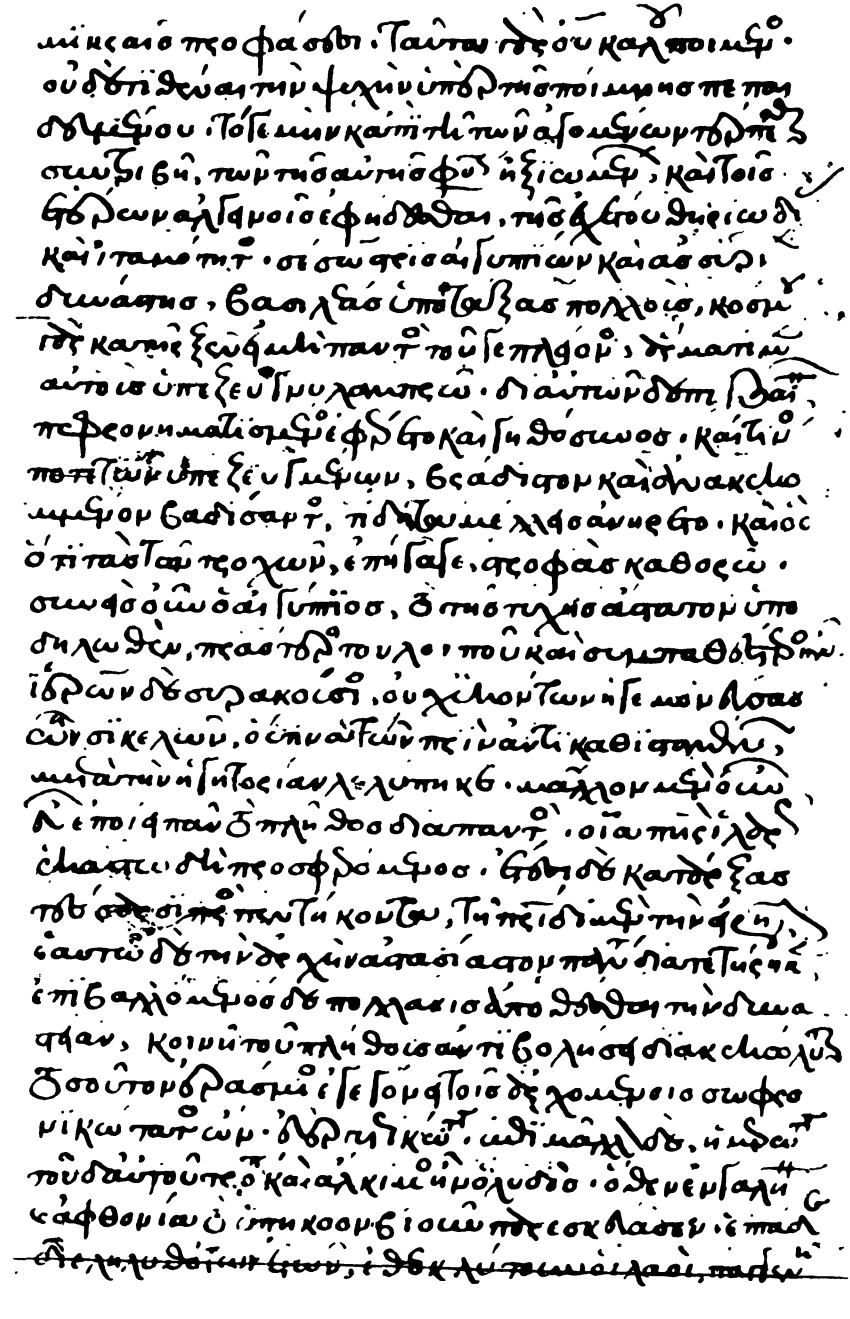

Plate 2. *Sinaiticus Graecus* 42, fol. 14r, Nicephorus Blemmydes, *Imperial Statue* (Library of Congress).

BYZANTINE STUDIES/ETUDES BYZANTINES, 5, Pts. 1-2 (1978), 233-34.

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